The Acquisition of Literacy in Gaelic-medium Primary Classrooms in Scotland

Irene Pollock

PhD by Research ~ The University of Edinburgh ~ 2006

I declare that this PhD thesis consists solely of work composed by myself, without contribution from others, and that the work herein has neither been previously published nor submitted for any other degree.

Irene Pollock

Abstract

This thesis analyses the factors affecting the acquisition of literacy in Gaelic-medium primary classrooms, including teaching techniques, availability of resources, and support for language development. In order to investigate this issue thoroughly, the background for the study includes an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of Scottish Gaelic, comparison to other minority language revitalisation efforts, discussion of the theories and practice of bilingualism and bilingual education, and an in-depth look at literacy acquisition, from perceptions of literacy and its value to the mechanics of reading in both a first and a second language. The core of the thesis presents extended observational data from seven case-study classrooms. The targeted population is Primary 1 to 3 pupils as this is the intensive period of reading instruction; the research focus is on literacy in Gaelic as the amount of English at this stage is negligible. Interviews and questionnaires involving education authorities, teachers, and parents supplement this data and emphasise the qualitative, ethnographic approach. The specific results are placed in the broader context of the Scottish education system and the Gaelic revitalisation movement. The analysis assesses the effectiveness of literacy acquisition in Gaelic-medium education and addresses some of the challenges related to further development. This thesis concludes that while significant progress has been made in the teaching of literacy in Gaelic-medium education, there are several points that are cause for concern, including the nature of teacher training, the provision of sufficient and appropriate resources, and the amount of extra-curricular reading taking place. Examples of "best practice" from the case-study classrooms are provided as possible solutions to these problems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

GLPS – Gaelic Learners in the Primary School scheme
GME – Gaelic-medium Education
GMU – Gaelic-medium Unit
GOC – Gaelic Orthographic Conventions
HMIE – Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education
ICT – Information and Communications Technology
L1, L2 – first language, second language
P1, P2, etc. – Primary One, Primary Two, etc.
PGDE – Post-graduate Diploma of Education

Clì – The Gaelic Access and Promotion Organisation (formerly Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh, The Gaelic Learners' Association) (www.cli.org.uk)
Comann nam Pàrant – The Gaelic Parents' Organisation (www.parant.org.uk)
Comhairle nan Leabhraichean – The Gaelic Books Council (www.gaelicbooks.net)
Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich – The Gaelic Playgroups Association (www.gaelicworld.co.uk)
Comunn na Gàidhlig – The Gaelic Development Agency (www.cnag.org.uk)
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig – Scotland's Gaelic College (www.smo.uhi.ac.uk)
sgoil àraich – Gaelic-medium nursery or playgroup
Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig – the National Resource Centre for Gaelic (www.storlann.co.uk)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my supervisors Wilson McLeod, William Gillies, and John Shaw for their help and guidance; the University of Edinburgh Development Trust for a Small Project Grant; the Gaelic Language Promotion Trust for assistance in funding fieldwork; Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig for a copy of the *Storyworlds* reading scheme; the staff, teachers, pupils, and parents involved in the case study, particularly at Central Primary, Daliburgh School, Meadowburn Primary, Salen Primary, Sleat Primary, and Stornoway Primary; and my family and Todd for their love and support. Thank you all.

Introduction

Although Gaelic-medium education is one of the major elements in the ongoing efforts to revitalise Scottish Gaelic, it is the subject of only a limited number of research studies. Many of these studies are concerned with pupil attitudes toward Scottish Gaelic ("Gaelic" hereafter) and their perceptions of the language. Other studies focus on the cultural identity of pupils and the circumstances and environments in which they use Gaelic. When researchers look at pupils' performance in the classroom, it is most often in comparison to English-medium peers: the results of such research are used to validate Gaelic-medium education. It is quite rare for researchers to focus on everyday classroom activity. However, in order to assess the effectiveness of pedagogical methods and resources, it is necessary to see how these are used in real classroom situations. Further development in Gaelic-medium education should be based on empirical evidence rather than on the agenda of parents and language activists, who may not be well informed about what is achievable through immersion education.

This thesis investigates literacy acquisition in Gaelic-medium primary classrooms. Literacy acquisition is one of the fundamental goals of early education, as it enables pupils to learn through reading in the upper stages. Literacy is considered by much of the developed world to be an essential component of language fluency, although many of the world's languages have very low literacy rates or have never been written. Both because Gaelic has a vibrant oral tradition with low levels of literacy until recently, and because immersion education emphasises oral language development, literacy is often overlooked and undervalued by both the Gaelic community and by researchers. Yet in order for Gaelic-medium education to be considered as equal or superior to other options by parents and education inspectors, literacy skills must be given due consideration.

Literacy acquisition is dependent on a wide range of contributing factors, both within the school context and at home. Factors at school include the approach taken by the teacher, the material resources available for teaching literacy, and the pedagogical techniques utilised. At home, even before schooling begins, the child's acquisition of literacy is influenced by his or her oral language ability, background knowledge about reading and attitude towards it, and the role that literacy plays in the home. Although many children are not exposed to Gaelic before they attend a Gaelic-medium nursery or enter primary school, some of these factors may transfer from English. Finally, the support given to the child at school, at home, and in the community as regards both oral and literary language development affects his or her progress in learning to read.

These factors, as well as others specific to Gaelic-medium education, are analysed using a mainly qualitative approach. Individual variation means that generalisation is difficult, but conclusions can be drawn that do apply to the pupil population as a whole. The core of the research is a case-study of seven primary classrooms in six schools, involving a total of 104 pupils in Primary 1 to 3 (11% of the total). The data from these classrooms were analysed thematically. In addition to observing these pupils throughout the course of the school year 2004-2005, their teachers and other Gaelic-medium teachers responded to questionnaires and interviews. Because the primary pupils themselves were not directly involved, teachers provided substantial insight into their behaviour; teachers also had the opportunity to discuss their own attitudes and teaching techniques related to reading and writing. The pupils' parents filled out two sets of questionnaires on the use of Gaelic in the home, focusing on language use and book reading. Other individuals involved in education, including headteachers, staff at teacher training institutions and publishing companies, researchers in education and in Gaelic, and quality improvement officers from education authorities, also provided input. The comprehensive nature of this investigation serves both to triangulate the data collected and to address a range of viewpoints on Gaelic-medium education.

These varied perspectives are all valuable in determining how children learn to read in Gaelic, as there are a wide range of influences that affect the process.

This thesis does not attempt to assess the overall success of the Scottish education system as regards Gaelic, nor does it attempt to analyse attitudes and perceptions of Gaelic-medium education. Literacy acquisition is only one aspect of the curriculum, and many factors outside of the school have an influence on children's progress in reading. Individual variation among both teachers and pupils will impact success. The small size of the case study and the necessary limitations of a single researcher also affect the range of applicability of the results. By focusing on reading specifically, the goal of this research is to illuminate the multitude of factors that affect a single component of primary education: one which has a significant and long-lasting effect on pupils' performance. "Best practice" in classrooms is identified in terms of resources, teaching techniques, and language use.

Chapter One is a review of the relevant literature, covering a range of topics from general issues relating to Gaelic in Scotland and the role of education in minority language revitalisation to bilingualism and literacy. The scope of this chapter is necessarily large for two reasons: there is only a limited amount of research published on Gaelic specifically and so many sources are more general, and the subject of this thesis incorporates themes from several different disciplines. In Chapter Two, the theoretical rationale and limitations of the study are presented, and the methodology is described. Chapter Three provides a summary of the Gaelic situation, including a historical overview, a look at contemporary language use, and a discussion of Gaelic-medium education. An overview of minority language revitalisation movements and language planning is also given in Chapter Three. The specific issues relating to bilingualism and biliteracy are addressed in Chapter Four. These issues include arguments for supporting bilingualism in children, the academic performance of pupils in bilingual and immersion education, methods of teaching literacy, and components of the reading process.

The results of the case study are presented in Chapter Five. This chapter includes a description of the schools and teachers involved, the classroom resources available, the teaching techniques observed, the role of speech in the classrooms, and the school ambience. These results are analysed in Chapter Six, with particular reference to literary acquisition. Chapter Six also discusses the Scottish education system; the extra-curricular support available to children in Gaelic-medium education, with an emphasis on Gaelic language use and Gaelic resources in the home; and the level of effectiveness of the current paradigm for teaching literacy. Chapter Six concludes by highlighting some of the challenges for further development. In the Conclusions and Evaluation section, the success of the case study as a research method is addressed, and suggestions for further research are given.

Chapter 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Within the limited amount of research on Gaelic, only a very small amount, perhaps two or three studies, deals directly with issues of literacy among contemporary speakers. Research on literacy is usually placed within the broader context of studies of Gaelic-medium education, sociolinguistics, bilingualism, or language revitalisation. These fields can provide a useful perspective on literacy; although their analytical focus is elsewhere, recent research often combines several fields. Language revitalisation efforts have raised interest and support for the study of Gaelic, yet there is still a serious deficit in both the quantity and quality of scholarly analysis. The paucity of reported fieldwork pertaining to Gaelic is a major obstacle in investigating literacy and other specific aspects of language use. Extracting the relevant information from the small number of published sources necessitates caution, particularly as regards author bias. Authors may refer to sources not because they are exemplary but because they are all that is available. The language and manner of presentation or publication of the research is an important indicator of the level of involvement of the researcher, of the intended audience, or of a political or ideological statement; the majority of studies are published only in English.

It is important to ask how a book or article should be critically evaluated when it itself is a summary or compilation of previously reported work, as is so often the case with Gaelic material. Some of the summary reviews selectively concentrate on sources or findings that support a particular argument. Criteria such as thoroughness, judicious selection of sources, and unbiased treatment may be appropriate. The methodology behind the original research must be investigated not only to determine how the information was collected, but also to address questions on the value of purely quantitative data, such as the results of the national census; the reliability of self-reporting on language use, literacy skills, etc.; whether the population involved is representative of the whole; and the effect of the preconceptions of the researcher. The viewpoint

may be restricted by the writer as much as by the subject: researcher, politician, teacher, minority language speaker, or activist. Looking at the proportions and type of material produced by each of these groups can indicate not only the relative power of that group, which is often linked to political and economic power, but also the dominant image given to the general public.

1.1 – the Scottish Gaelic situation

Little actual fieldwork has been reported on the current status of Gaelic and Gaelic-medium education, as the majority of publications are summaries of existing work or re-analysis of material such as census and survey data on language use. The sociolinguistic investigation of Kenneth MacKinnon, beginning with his PhD thesis on Gaelic language use, provides a large proportion of the analysis of Gaelic. His major work dealing with language use and education (MacKinnon (1977)), based on fieldwork done in Harris, is the foundation of many of his later publications. Although his detailed questionnaires and interviews concentrate on factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, and geographical distribution, rather than education or literacy, they provide insight into the views and attitudes of the Gaelic-speaking community itself in a way that cannot be accomplished through purely quantitative analysis. Much of MacKinnon's work from the mid-1980s onwards analyses census data; recent work for SGRÙD research (Surveys on Gaelic/Research Unit/Database) has a sociolinguistic focus, with topics such as the prospects of survival of Scottish Gaelic (2001), the role of Gaelic-medium units in language shift (2004), and the impact of migration and intergenerational language transmission on Gaelic speech communities (2006). Stradling and MacNeil's (2000) analysis of the effects of home and community language use on children's performance in Gaelic-medium education is complementary to MacKinnon's data.

The subjective quality of research can also be observed by tracking a chronological shift in attitude toward Gaelic. Two early reports on the effects of Gaelic education illustrate this development well. In 1948, Christina Smith

published research entitled *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English.* This piece was in response to government reports that the IQ of these children was lower than the national average: this is a common finding in bilingual situations in which the children are tested in their weaker language and are thus unable to demonstrate their full intellectual competence; such children may also have a lower socio-economic status (Baker 2006: 10). Smith discusses the significance of language and cultural context in IQ testing, and details the unstable linguistic situation that affects bilinguals' language development, suggesting these as the reasons behind unfavourable test results (cf. Macnamara (1966)).

A less favourable attitude is found in 1961's *Gaelic-Speaking Children in Highland Schools,* produced by the Scottish Council for Research in Education. The report focuses on the increasing dominance of English and the apparently ineffectual efforts to provide Gaelic-medium education on an informal basis in schools, and includes a demographic overview of Gaelic speakers in primary classrooms. While not directly denying the value of mother tongue education, the report is nevertheless a view from outwith the community that neglects to take the participants' own observations into account in the analysis, although the appendices do include the questionnaires used. More positive recent work includes Fraser's (1989) PhD thesis, which investigates the feasibility of Gaelic-medium units in urban areas by looking at both the schools and communities involved. Her use of questionnaires, interviews, and personal observation provides a solid model for fieldwork. Recent reviews of Gaelic-medium education, such as Robertson (1999) and McLeod (2003b), attempt to give an objective overview of the situation, taking historical factors into account and providing updated numbers on provision and enrolment.

Another example of an external perspective is the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14 published by the Scottish Office Education Department (1993), which attempt to provide a parallel with documents in English provided for the curriculum in English-medium schools. This foundations means that it is

difficult to clarify the specific issues associated with Gaelic-medium education such as the lack of resources. The usefulness of the Guidelines in investigating, for example, the role of literacy in Gaelic is limited because the goals set out do not necessarily reflect actual practice, especially more than a decade later. In 2005, Learning and Teaching Scotland announced an upcoming review of the National Guidelines (HMIE (2005)). A more pragmatic government-sponsored document is produced by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (1999), which examines the implementation of the stated aims of local authorities, using the guidelines as one criterion. The document's effectiveness cannot yet be assessed as the changes recommended are gradual and therefore not yet fully realised. Nevertheless, the document as an in-depth, bilingual survey of the relationship between published goals and real-life results represents the possibility of data-based, comprehensive review. A similar document, HMIE (2005), compiles the recommendations of the Inspectorate for improving achievement in Gaelic.

Groups such as the support organisation for parents with children in Gaelic-medium education, Comann nam Pàrant, also organise reviews of the education system. These reviews usually arise out of a specific concern raised by parents, for example the provision of subject teaching through Gaelic in secondary schools (2002), and as such tend to be potentially restrictive. An interesting document for comparative purposes is Johnstone's (2003) analysis of the newly introduced Gaelic Learners in the Primary School (GLPS) programme. The narrow focus of these reports limits their usefulness, but is compensated for by the fact that the research responds to the needs of the community rather than the interests of an education authority or individual researcher.

One crucial review is that of the Bilingual Education Project (Murray & Morrison (1984)), which investigates the reactions to the project, implemented from 1976-1981 in the Western Isles as an initial attempt to increase Gaelic language use among children. The review compares the two phases of the

project in terms of development, resources, teacher attitudes, and student abilities, as well as providing suggestions for future provision. The main value of this review lies in the detailed reporting of pupil, teacher, and community responses: all results are given in tables, case studies are included, and throughout the report quotations provide an additional personal perspective. Mitchell *et al.* (1987) provide a further evaluation of the project.

Significant data on Gaelic-medium education and Gaelic sociolinguistics in general has been collected and analysed by Lèirsinn Research Centre on the Isle of Skye, associated with the Gaelic college Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. Some of the projects headed by Lèirsinn include a survey of teacher training facilities (Stradling & MacNeil (1995)), the roles and views of parents (Stradling & MacNeil (2000)), and the value of immersion programmes (MacNeil & Beaton (1994)). One particular enquiry, into the "critical skills" of Gaelic-medium education (Stradling & MacNeil (1996)), is especially valuable because it describes actual classroom practices and indicates where improvement is most needed. Because Lèirsinn is based in the Gaelic community geographically and is linked with the Gaelic college, it is in a good position to do effective and meaningful research.

Some important work has also been done on specific aspects of Gaelic language use and Gaelic-medium education. Current research on Gaelic recognises the fact that virtually all of its speakers are bilingual in English, with many now English-dominant; exceptions are restricted to the very young. A thorough technical linguistic description is found in Lamb's (2001) analysis for Lincom Europa. His (2002) PhD thesis uses a corpus of speech and writing to investigate register variation. Such thorough linguistically based analyses are rare, as linguistic investigation has often been limited to dialectology (e.g. Ternes (1989)). Duwe (2003-2006) has prepared a number of "local studies" on Gaelic, based mainly on previously published data. These reports, each covering a geographical region, include many areas in which Gaelic is no longer spoken widely; while they include up-to-date data on reported language

ability from the 2001 census, it can sometimes be difficult to separate facts from Duwe's personal opinions.

For the purposes of investigating literacy acquisition, some of the most important articles are analyses of the Gaelic publishing sector, as literacy is somewhat surprisingly rarely addressed in articles on education. One exception is Johnstone's *Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic Language* (1994a), which includes a small section on literacy. In 1984 Derick Thomson reviewed the major publishing companies and compared their output both within the Gaelic sector and to English-only publishers. While his review is now outdated, it is useful for comparative purposes to indicate progress. Cormack (1995) specifically investigates the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers, while Ekos (2001) provides a comprehensive review of publishing that considers factors such as readership demographics and the economics of Gaelic publishing. Moray Watson (2003) highlights the continuing challenges and deficits of Gaelic publishing, although his article has no mention of recent material produced for schools by Stòrlann. Watson's (1995) MLitt thesis also investigates the lexical resources in use in primary classrooms. Many articles on publishing argue for the increased provision of materials using examples from the other Celtic language revitalisation movements. This comparative perspective is pervasive.

Extrapolating from the limited data available is a common theme among the reports on Gaelic, particularly as regards bilingual education. While it is not feasible for every researcher to do extensive fieldwork, the material already published will often be inadequate for his or her purposes and a specific supplement to an existing project or database would be advisable. Increased funding from Bòrd na Gàidhlig for research studies may help to increase the amount of data available. Over-reliance on very few sources is the most significant flaw in the literature. This is particular true as regards introductory articles on the state of Gaelic-medium education. The descriptions therein vary in terms of the most recent figures discussed (for a chronological overview see

MacKinnon (1977), Grant (1996), Johnstone (1999), Robertson (2001b), Nicolson & MacIver (2003a)), but similar conclusions are drawn in each case. As in many aspects of the field of Celtic studies, studies that are quite dated (e.g. Macnamara (1966)) are still referred to. Although these studies are historically significant, many of the conclusions drawn are no longer accurate. However, because topics such as demographics and attitudes to language use are currently receiving the majority of academic attention, many aspects of the Gaelic situation have not been adequately addressed, and so older sources are often cited.

1.2 - minority language revitalisation

The allocation of time and resources for the representation of minority languages in education is clearly a controversial issue. Research by language scholars and cultural anthropologists, complemented by projects initiated by groups such as Mercator Education and the publishing house Multilingual Matters, address efforts to maintain and revitalise minority languages. David Crystal's persuasive *Language Death* (2000) looks at the loss of minority languages from a problem-solving perspective, with chapter titles such as "Why should we care?" and "What should be done?" A similar perspective is taken in Nettle and Romaine's *Vanishing Voices: the extinction of the world's languages* (2000). The use of personal examples and representative anecdotes complements the more objective and technical summaries presented in the regional dossiers produced by Mercator Education, which investigate the representation of various European minority languages in education (e.g. Robertson (2001b)). Both types of sources are valuable, though their intended audience may differ. As long as material is available that represents a range of viewpoints, and the views therein are expressed clearly as representing a particular ideological stance, these focused documents can be valuable when used in conjunction with broader treatments to construct a balanced overview of the situation.

Perhaps the best-known treatment of minority languages is Fishman's work on reversing language shift (e.g. 1991; 1993). He addresses both revivals, in which a language has fallen entirely out of use and been reintroduced, such as Hebrew and Cornish, and the more common revitalisations, in which a language is perceived as threatened and efforts are made to encourage speakers to continue to use it (e.g. Māori, Irish and Scottish Gaelic). His framework, particularly the levels of language shift and reversal such as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), is widely referenced although not endorsed by all scholars. The distinctions he draws between bilingual and diglossic situations are particularly relevant for language planning efforts. As with Baker's work (especially Baker (2006)), many of Fishman's examples are drawn from major movements, such as Hebrew in Israel, although nearly half of Fishman (1991) is a description of eleven case studies. A further, complementary volume of case studies is edited by Fishman (2001), providing examples of language shift from different geographical areas world-wide.

Another complication in assessing the literature is determining the extent to which case studies of local circumstances can be generalised to other situations in which revitalisation is underway. Gomm *et al.* (2000) includes several articles on this issue. Comparing the results of fieldwork can be valuable in order to see, for example, successful methodology or effective legislation. Yet transferring results across situations without careful consideration of the linguistic and social factors involved can be problematic. What is feasible for one community of minority language speakers may be impractical demographically, economically, politically, culturally, or otherwise for another group. Some of the literature, particularly reviews such as Baker's practical guide (2000a) or Robertson's summaries of Gaelic-medium education in Scotland (1999; 2001b) do not emphasise strongly enough the dangers of generalisation.

Comparative data is often utilised to compensate for the lack of specific research results, as described above. Yet arguing that, for example, immersion education is successful in Canada may not be a sufficient rationale for its use in another context. Researchers must also exercise caution in citing previous studies that were completed under different circumstances; some works, such as MacDonald's (2002) MSc dissertation on perceptions of Gaelic literacy, apply monolingual standards and use monolingual situations for comparison without explicit acknowledgement of their limited applicability. Similarly, although the Welsh and Irish situations are close to the Scottish situations linguistically, politically, and geographically, significant differences do exist: ones that could have an impact on potential outcomes, including language status and demographics. Uí Ghrádaigh's (1981) article on Irish reading and Ó Raghallaigh's (2003) related article on publishing raise important issues, but the recommendations within cannot be adopted wholesale. The caution in transferring findings is particularly relevant "when there are differences in status and power from one setting to another [bilingual context]" (Baker 1988: 160-1 quoted in Romaine 1995: 314).

1.3 - bilingualism

Over the past fifty years, bilingualism has come to be viewed much more favourably by educators and policy makers. This change in attitude is partly the result of a greater acceptance of diversity by both researchers and the general public, but was largely brought about by increased research into the phenomenon using improved methodology (Baker 2006: 148). A bibliographic search for material on bilingualism shows that publications have both proliferated and diversified in recent decades. Importantly, these sources deal with minority languages as well as with the "foreign language" bilingualism common in European and American schools.

The most authoritative and comprehensive sourcebook dealing with bilingualism is Colin Baker's *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, now in its fourth edition (2006). Baker's previous publications,

such as *The Care and Education of Young Bilinguals* (2000b) and *A Parents' and Teachers' Guide to Bilingualism* (2000a), a simplified question/answer format that provides an accessible overview, are also useful resources. His descriptions of diverse situations, combined with his personal experiences of bilingualism in Wales, give his work significant scope. Baker (2006) is an overview of general research supplemented by historical background and case studies; a supportive attitude toward bilingualism is evident throughout. One drawback to the wide breadth is that most of the references are to well-known, well-researched, and perhaps over-cited bilingual situations, notably Spanish in the United States and French in Canada. Like many general books on the subject, Baker's mainly summarises existing research rather than presenting new findings.

John Edwards, in his 1994 book *Multilingualism*, also recognises the value of considering the multiplicity of situations in which individuals and societies command more than two languages. Much of his book is concerned with minority language revivals and revitalisations from a sociolinguistic perspective. He draws on a variety of contexts to demonstrate the theories that he discusses, and uses charts and diagrams to clarify these theories. Edwards' discussions, however, do tend to take a historical viewpoint rather than a forward-looking, problem-solving approach, and therefore are most valuable for comparative background. A similar introduction to bilingualism from a more technically linguistic perspective, although still with a sociolinguistic emphasis, is Romaine (1995). She concentrates on major theories and scholars in the field, such as Cummins' (1979) interdependency hypothesis. Because both Edwards' and Romaine's books are intended as introductions to the field, some aspects of bilingualism are oversimplified, with controversial and cutting-edge research being passed over. Myers-Scotton (2006) provides an updated introduction to bilingualism, discussing topics such as language maintenance and language contact in the context of globalisation as well as the more traditional theories and topics associated with the study of bilingualism; biliteracy, however, is hardly mentioned.

The work of Ellen Bialystok (Bialystok & Cummins (1991); Bialystok (2002)) is an important source for placing bilingualism in the context of language development, as well as considering psychological effects and the importance of social factors. Her recent monograph (Bialystok (2001)) takes a wide range of factors into account, including the interplay between literacy and cognition, with a particular emphasis on the effects of bilingualism on academic performance. Bialystok's specific interests in the acquisition of more than one code and the definition of types of bilingualism add a valuable dimension to more politically motivated frameworks, such as that of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. Skutnabb-Kangas is a dedicated proponent of bilingualism and multilingualism and their links with cultural diversity and minority language rights. While her research is comprehensive and wide-ranging, her activist stance may be off-putting to more objective scholars. Both Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) and (2000) deal with the mechanisms of bilingualism, but also address political issues and are therefore context-dependent and potentially controversial. At nearly 800 pages, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) has a broad scope, although the topic of "linguistic genocide in education" could be restrictive; the presentation, using reader-friendly boxes containing definitions, further information, and addresses for correspondence, makes it a useful reference.

All of these researchers are concerned with bilingualism on a variety of levels: individual, societal, linguistic, pedagogical, legislative, and so on. Often typologies are constructed, such as those by Fishman (1991) on types of bilingual ability, bilingualism v. diglossia, and level of minority language loss related to reversing language shift. Bilingual education, especially its role in maintaining languages, is currently receiving a substantial amount of attention in the fields of linguistics and sociology as well as in the media. Greater publicity in turn leads to further research, which may be influenced or biased by the very publicity that instigated it. Whether a document produced by a government, a critical investigation by a university-based research team, or a letter written by concerned parents to an education authority, material relating

to bilingualism and bilingual education must be reviewed carefully to determine how the motivations of different researchers affect their conclusions. Comparisons of methodology across and within countries can be useful, but there is a range of factors to be taken into consideration. Some of these, as summarised by Baker (2006), include the relative status of the two (or possibly more) languages in question, official policy of the government and school, the role of the languages in the community, parental attitudes, and economic considerations.

1.4 – literacy and biliteracy

Although general introductions to literacy are plentiful, they often only briefly address biliteracy, the ability to read and write in two (or more) languages. Discussions of bilingualism also often overlook or gloss over biliteracy and focus instead on oral language, although many of the concepts addressed apply to both speech and writing. For example, the transfer of linguistic and academic skills across well-developed languages is crucial to the proponents of biliteracy. Johnstone's (1999) review of the attainments of Gaelic-speaking pupils emphasises the value of such transfer and its implications for bilingual and immersion education. Although biliteracy is not a common area of research, as most studies emphasise oral competence, it is essential in bilingual education if balanced bilingualism (that is, equal facility in both languages) is the goal. However, due to the differential status of languages within a community and their distinct uses, balance is difficult to attain in both oral and literary competence. Williams and Snipper (1990) discuss not only the mechanics but also the social functions of biliteracy. In common with other authors in the field, Williams and Snipper (1990: 1) define different types of literacy, particularly the differences between pre-literates, literates, and post-literates; significantly, they also discuss the varied value and uses of these types in relation to two or more languages. A variety of evidence from diverse sources based on classroom evidence for the

performance of (bi)literates versus nonliterates reinforces the main contention that biliteracy is a valuable skill to develop.

Clay (1991) discusses literacy from a theoretical point of view, emphasising the role that "emergent literacy" has in pedagogical methods. While Clay does not address biliteracy in any detail, her approach is widely recognised as empowering the child reader, an important consideration with minority language children. Stubbs' (1980) work on language and literacy acknowledges the importance of sociolinguistic factors in learning to read. He discusses crucial links between oral and literate skills. Stubbs also draws attention to the role that people's perceptions of literacy play (1980: 41), which may differ across languages and language communities. Individuals may also have varying perceptions of literacy in different languages. The sociolinguistic perspective is developed into a comprehensive framework by Hornberger (2003a). Her "continua of biliteracy" create a model that takes contexts, individuals and media into account. The visible, flexible nature of the continua brings a new perspective to many aspects of established problems related to biliteracy.

Another treatment of biliteracy is Datta (2000), although with a significant focus on the use of Turkish in English primary schools. This work is narrower in scope than the title would suggest, but has the added benefit of incorporating anecdotal evidence to address "principles and practice". The involvement of parents and community are central to Datta's portrayal of literacy development, but may not apply to all situations; similarly, the committed, sensitive, and enthusiastic teachers that she describes as essential are not always available. The stress that Datta places on meaningful texts and cultural relevance for a frame of knowledge is, however, widely applicable.

García (2000) also purports to deal with the phenomenon of biliteracy in general, but in fact focuses almost exclusively on Spanish in the United States. Like Datta and other authors, García does not make clear which of his claims are applicable only to the situation he describes and which have a wider

validity. Barone and Morrow (2003) is a good general introduction to literacy, consisting of a compilation of recent articles that incorporate a variety of approaches to research. The fourth edition of *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading* (1994), produced by the International Reading Association, focuses on individual components of reading. This work concentrates on the American situation, but is valuable for understanding basic viewpoints in the field.

A practical classroom perspective on literacy can be extremely valuable and is likely to reach a wider audience than a theoretical model. Such an approach puts theory into practice, whether by looking at the early years in general, such as Whitehead (1997) and Godwin and Perkins (2002), or by concentrating on the challenges found in education through a second language (Bernhardt (1991); Goodman, Goodman, & Flores (1979)). Real-life examples are used in these books to demonstrate techniques and methodologies, and are broader in scope than the work of Datta and García. One problem with practical texts of this sort is that they may create artificial distinctions by focusing only on the early years or by not considering a range of second language ability. A further difficulty is that such texts are written in response to a time-dependent situation; changes in national or school policy can invalidate the suggestions made, although the underlying theories remain valid. For this reason, works such as HM Inspectors of Schools (1998) and Wragg *et al.* (1998), which are targeted at improving reading in the primary school, have a limited life-span. Nevertheless, they are still valuable for historical comparisons and to mark progress in the field.

1.5 - the state of the field

The most critical issue of the literature review is why the acquisition of biliteracy has *not* been a research focus, as its value and importance are often acknowledged. Some factors in the lack of research on literacy and biliteracy in Gaelic may be the result of the marginalised position of literacy in the Gaelic community: low literacy rates in Gaelic due to the previously English-dominated education system (MacDonald 2002: 4); limited availability of texts

for historical, religious, and economic reasons; and a view of literacy in Gaelic as inferior to literacy in English (Johnstone 1999: 61). The underlying reasons for the lack of research into literacy acquisition, as well as the dearth of research on Gaelic in general, must also be examined.

The issues leading to the current state of research include lack of funding, interest, and qualified researchers; there are inadequate human and material resources to adequately investigate Gaelic topics. Literacy may be assumed to be merely a component of oral language use (cf. Grant (1996)). The topic is frequently overlooked in the focus on the contemporary sociolinguistics of Gaelic, although literacy may be mentioned with regard to bilingual and immersion education. In order to improve the research situation, it is necessary to expand the type and range of researchers. Possible participants include the language community, as those most directly affected; the teachers involved, often overloaded with work but in the best position to observe the phenomenon; grassroots organisations, determined to utilise effective methods for revitalisation; independent researchers, externally funded and familiar with modern techniques; education authorities, responsible for provision; or ideally a joint committee with representatives from all these groups.

Contrary to the apparent state of research, literacy acquisition is an essential facet of a child's language ability, especially if that child is dealing with more than one language and one of those languages is marginalised. Bilinguals appear to approach literacy in unique ways (Bialystok 2002: 159), and unique features of the two languages used must be taken into account, from script and orthography to prestige and literary history. Biliteracy is a valuable skill, and its importance should not be marginalised. The role of literacy in education, at home, and in the community must be acknowledged and more thoroughly researched in order to provide a comprehensive view of Gaelic language revitalisation efforts.

Chapter 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 - theoretical background

The investigation of literacy in Scottish Gaelic has for the most part been restricted to analysing the census data. Most recently, in 2001, the census form asked respondents to indicate whether they had the ability to understand, speak, read, or write Gaelic. These results indicated that literacy levels remain low, with less than half of adults able to both read and write (see below). Some Gaelic agencies are concerned with the material aspects of literacy, such as Comhairle nan Leabhraichean (the Gaelic Books Council) and Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig (the National Resource Centre for Gaelic). Their emphasis is on providing for the current commercial publishing needs rather than developing literacy, although the two may go hand in hand (see section 4.3.4.1). There has been little research done as to how literacy affects language use, how literacy skills are utilised, and how children acquire literacy either at home or through Gaelic-medium education (GME). These issues may have important implications for the future maintenance and development of Gaelic.

The above issues are also relevant in other minority language situations, and again remain for the most part un-investigated. Compared to dominant majority languages, different factors are involved in the acquisition of literacy in a minority language, ranging from general issues of diglossia and bilingualism to an individual teacher's language policy. In order to gain a full picture of the child's development, it is necessary to consider a broad spectrum of such factors. Particularly for a minority language, literacy increases functions and usage of the language (Baker 2006: 328), and biliterate children gain cognitive advantages (Titone 1989: 134). Theories of literacy acquisition range from cognitive to social frameworks (Bernhardt 1991: 5-11). Many teachers may be unaware of the theories that underpin practical classroom activities; raising awareness of the process of learning to read may help to improve teaching.

Teachers of bilingual and multilingual children face additional challenges. Hornberger highlights the complexity of biliteracy, its multi-disciplinary nature, and the interdependence between research, policy, and practice as challenges to researchers (2003a: 5). For a second language, issues of transfer and interference, such as the relationship between oral language proficiency and literacy skills, must also be considered. One way to view research as well as classroom activity is by using a "developmental orientation" in which children's literacy, as well as that of second language speakers, is qualitatively different from that of adults (Reeder *et al.* 1996b: 3). This concept is related to Clay's (1991) "emergent literacy". Such an outlook ensures that characteristics of beginning readers, including features of reading readiness such as phonemic awareness and concepts of print, are given adequate weight.

The limited amount of research on literacy in Gaelic is partially due to the focus of a large proportion of older as well as more recent studies being the spoken language rather than the written language. In-depth projects have investigated, for example, the phonological characteristics of a certain dialect (Ternes (1989)) or the occurrence of complex syntactic forms across registers (Lamb (2002)). General overviews of the status of Gaelic may briefly mention literacy, usually in relation to census results. If the self-reported numbers in the 2001 census are accurate, 67% of those claiming the ability to speak Gaelic are capable of reading the language, with 45% of the population also able to write (General Register Office for Scotland (2005)). It should be noted that these numbers represent ability rather than performance: most Gaelic speakers do not read regularly in Gaelic. Adult learners of the language are more likely to be literate than native speakers (MacKinnon 1991: 122), although this is a marginal group as few adults learn the language to fluency. It is to be hoped that the system of Gaelic-medium education developed over the past 20 years has also produced a sizeable number of literate speakers, particularly in light of the goal of equal facility in Gaelic and English set out in the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14 and echoed by many education authorities. As in Wales (Jones (2001)), the demographic distribution of literacy

is weighted toward the younger generations. However, there has as yet been no systematic and comprehensive survey of the literacy skills of Gaelic-speaking children.

Comparing previous research in other contexts such as adult learner courses (Whalley (2001)) and Irish-medium schools (H. Ó Murchú (2001)), as well as earlier work on Gaelic in the primary schools, can be valuable for providing background information as long as the limitations of the comparative approach are recognised. Fraser's PhD thesis is a useful overview to Gaelic-medium education, particularly the still-pertinent focus on attitudes toward

> the perceived value of Gaelic-medium primary methods in relation to linguistic development, resource availability, the future of the language, national educational priority, and the integration of Gaelic-educated children within the wider social context (1989: 345).

Other fields that can inform the Gaelic situation include linguistics, particularly sociolinguistics and the study of bilingualism; minority language revitalisation; and educational research on literacy acquisition and teaching techniques. Unfortunately, theories of literacy and bilingualism are also incomplete as

> the complexity of the subject; the multi-disciplinary nature of the inquiry, including educators, linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, and historians; and the interdependence between research, policy, and practice make unity and coherence elusive objectives (Hornberger 2003a: 5).

A first step to address the research deficit on Gaelic literacy is to investigate the means through which bilingual (Gaelic-English) children in Scotland become literate in both their languages, particularly through the education system, which for many children is their only access to the language. Drawing on linguistic theories of language development and second language acquisition as well as pedagogical theories of language support and reading, a framework is established in this thesis which attempts to address, in a descriptive but systematic manner, the various techniques and resources used by teachers, parents, and children to facilitate the process of becoming

biliterate. This framework is informed by the principles of emergent literacy research, which aim to follow "children's literacy knowledge and processes as they move from unconventional to conventional literacy" (Yaden, Rowe, & MacGillivray 2000: 426). Ethnographic research methods are also drawn upon in the methodology behind this thesis, continually highlighting the fact that qualitative research involves real people whose actions cannot be neatly distilled into numbers. The qualitative approach is visible in the thematic rather than statistical analysis (see Appendix B for an example). In the words of Stake (1995: 91), the researcher must be "teacher, advocate, evaluator, biographer, [and] interpreter."

2.1.1 – defining "best practice" in the classroom

The intention of this research is to define "best practice" in the classroom. As Clay (1991: 16) points out, "researchers rarely ask the questions which teachers want answered ... and educators rarely work to implement the implications of particular research findings." This thesis strives to address this issue, which is echoed by Bernhardt (1991: 17): "Research and theory must lead to practical implications and applications because what is important is effective and efficient student learning." All too often, research in done in a vacuum, without acknowledging the myriad of factors that lead to the results described. Additionally, teachers may receive no feedback from the researcher, nor be informed of the conclusions drawn. Ethnographic research strives to address this issue. As Nutbrown (1997: 10) states, "observation and inference are the main methods of describing early literacy development."

In order to look at the entire context in which literacy acquisition takes place, the 'zoom strategy' described by Wragg *et al.* (1998: 35) is utilised, which moves from "the large-scale national and regional perspective to the individual classroom teacher and pupil level." The population that this study focuses on is primary pupils in P1 through P3 in Gaelic-medium units (GMUs) throughout Scotland. These early years are the years targeted by the National Guidelines as those in which literacy is introduced (Scottish Office Education Department

1993: 28). Within the 61 schools in which GMUs ran for the 2004-05 session, there were 967 pupils in these years (Robertson (2005)). These pupils come from a range of backgrounds in terms of urban v. rural location, whether or not their home or community is Gaelic-speaking, and whether they have Gaelic as a first or second language. School policy toward the use of Gaelic in the classroom varies across the sample, as does the support, financial and otherwise, of the education authority. A tangential aspect of this study is the use of Gaelic and English in the classroom by teachers and pupils, both in the context of lessons and for more general interaction.

Although the pupils are the central figures in the study, teachers play an important role in terms of research interviews and questionnaires. Fraser (1989: 340) notes that teachers "may be assumed not only to be the most familiar with current educational issues but also the most self-confident in using Gaelic to express and ponder this." Another resource in addition to class teachers is the headteachers of schools where GME is offered and, where applicable, heads of Gaelic-medium units who work in cooperation with the headteacher. The education and development officers working for education authorities add a further and broader perspective. These figures provide an outlook that is removed from daily classroom activity and they may have different views regarding policy in action. For an additional perspective on the success of the school system and on each child's learning process, parents are another valuable resource. However, the parents' Gaelic fluency (or lack thereof) can affect their judgment on their child's education. Finally, Gaelic organisations such as Comann nam Pàrant, Comunn na Gàidhlig, Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, Stòrlann and so forth allow for comparisons on a national level and open a level of discourse with researchers involved in related fields such as sociolinguistics and educational policy.

2.1.2 - theoretical rationale

By using a largely observational method, supported by guided interviews and questionnaires, some of the deficiencies of purely statistical techniques can be avoided:

> Naturalistic inquiry, with its tendency toward the use of qualitative methods such as observations, interview, and documentary analysis, permits one to locate the relevant variables as they emerge from the situation and thereby construct ecologically valid descriptions (Teale 1986: 174).

Rather than forcing results to fit into a preconceived structure, or answering only questions that were directly asked, such a method allows the researcher to remain flexible and responsive to the data collected. Stradling and MacNeil (1996: 7) identify some of the aspects of observation used in their investigation of the "critical skills" in Gaelic-medium education: setting, organisation, access to teaching resources, climate (e.g. visible enjoyment of learning/using Gaelic), display of pupils' work, pupil confidence, teaching and learning styles, ratio of teacher/pupil interaction, and informal learning. These features would be difficult to report without descriptive details.

One goal of this research is to encourage comparison and development at a national level. Some concerns have already been raised and partially addressed in the literature (e.g. Stradling & MacNeil (1995; 1996; 2000), Moray Watson (1995; 2003)), most prominently difficulties with staffing and with the provision of resources. Both of these concerns have an impact on the present study. The National Guidelines allow comparison to English-medium methods as well as a basis for contrasting teacher approaches. School policies also inform comparisons. Fraser's (1989: iv) methodology provides a useful template: "case-studies, personal observation and analysis, etc. amplified by published comparative and historical sources where appropriate."

Qualitative rather than quantitative research is emphasised. While it may be useful, for example, to know what percentage of pupils in P3 are at an

appropriate level in terms of reading ability, this statistic would not inform the reasons behind this percentage, even assuming a standard test were devised and administered for Gaelic. Other effects to be avoided include reliance on self-reporting, leading questions, and misrepresentation in numbers: because the Gaelic-medium education system is quite small, high percentages are common but also misleading, as 75% is much more likely to be 6 out of 8 than 725 out of 967. Observation in the field does have limitations in terms of research validity, although Wragg *et al.* (1998: 11) note its role in focusing and verifying interviews. Researcher biases, the "Hawthorne" or observer effect (the presence of the researcher affecting the normal behaviour of those observed), the limited nature of information obtained through questionnaires, the language used in interaction, and personal expectations can all influence the results of the study. For this reason, flexibility throughout the observation period is necessary to ensure continual involvement with and reaction to the data being collected.

2.1.3 - challenges and weaknesses

Because the acquisition of biliteracy tends to be marginalised as a research focus, with the exception of English as a second language in the United States, and because of the paucity of research on Gaelic in general, few precedents are available for a study of this sort. Some challenges are unavoidable. One of these is that comparisons among different areas and different groups of pupils are difficult, since controlling for factors such as language background and socio-economic status is limited by the sample size. Variations in policy among the authorities, only three of which offer more than one Gaelic-medium unit (Highland, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, and Argyll & Bute), also cause problems in terms of comparison. Another complication is the large number of composite classes due to low pupil enrolment and staff shortages, as distinctions between years may be blurred and the teacher's time will necessarily be divided. There are few Gaelic classes that only comprise one year, and it is not rare for three or more classes to be combined.

The willingness of the teachers to participate in the project, thus adding to their already substantial workload, also skews results. A differential response to interviews, questionnaires, and observation is always present in a study of this type, and the low numbers of the sample emphasise this effect. Input from parents may be biased as regards their own child or children, and those who are not Gaelic-speaking may have difficulty assessing their child's academic and language development. A further difficulty is in the feasibility of visiting a representative range of schools, since many are located in remote rural areas. Again, the small number of schools and teachers means that statistically valid sampling would be very difficult, thus giving a further reason for using qualitative rather than quantitative methods. Like any case study, the results are only generalisable to a certain extent. Stake (1994: 328) cautions that

> uniqueness is likely to be pervasive, extending to 1) the nature of the case; 2) its historical background; 3) the physical setting; 4) other contexts, including economic, political, legal, and aesthetic; 5) other cases through which this case is recognised; [and] 6) those informants through whom the case can be known.

Finally, issues arising from the methodology itself may include faults with survey questions, including choice of language, inconsistency as regards interviews, and uneven feedback from schools, in addition to the researcher bias mentioned above.

2.2 - methodology

This investigation of literacy acquisition in Gaelic begins with a background of theories of bilingualism, language planning, and the mechanics of reading in both a first and a second language. The fieldwork started with the same broad scope and involved a process of refinement down to an individual level. At each stage, the goal was to involve the maximum number of participants. The combination of several methods, including questionnaires, interviews, and observation, allows for a "more holistic view" of the situation as recommended by Morse (1994: 224). The use of numerous methods also

provides the opportunity to verify results through data triangulation, as overlapping populations are reached through the use of each method.

2.2.1 – description of study

The initial step of the study was to contact the fourteen education authorities that offer Gaelic-medium primary education in Scotland (see Table 8) and request information on history, pupil enrolment, and methods of promoting GME in the local community, as well as ask for permission to carry out fieldwork. This letter was followed by a phone interview, usually with a Gaelic development officer or education advisor, eliciting more specific details regarding provision. The use of standardised questions allowed for more direct comparison between authorities (see Appendix C1). The enrolment numbers compiled annually by Boyd Robertson *et al.* (2004-2006) at Strathclyde University were helpful for comparative purposes, as were the HMIE (Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education) reports, although current reports were not available for all Gaelic-medium units. Contacts were not limited to authorities and schools: organisations supporting Gaelic and Gaelic-medium education, such as Comunn na Gàidhlig, were also involved (see below).

The next stage of the process was to request permission from headteachers to carry out the research, ensuring that they gave informed consent and were willing to be involved throughout the project. The cooperation and assistance of headteachers was crucial; their views on policy and implementation were also valuable. Interaction with the class teachers was of a longitudinal nature in order to observe progress, encompassing the entire school year 2004-2005. The initial contact was in the form of a brief bilingual questionnaire (see Appendix C2) dealing with the teacher's own language and teaching background, composition of their class(es), and the basic curriculum for literacy, including time frame, materials used, and perceived challenges. This questionnaire was sent to 81 primary teachers at 52 Gaelic-medium units, with the focus of the study on Primary 1 to 3. 35 of these (43%) replied, 24 (69%) of them in Gaelic.

Teachers were asked at this time to indicate whether they would be willing to participate in a more thorough study. A further questionnaire (see Appendix C3) was sent to 21 teachers that dealt in more detail with teaching techniques and resources, the two main foci of the research. 18 of these teachers (86%; 23% of the teachers initially involved) replied. Interviews over the phone and in person were used to clarify the issues at hand and to establish a good working relationship, as well as to reach a greater number of teachers than could be observed first-hand as case studies. 15 teachers were interviewed (see Appendix C4).

Table 1 - Initial Contacts

Contact	Type	Medium	Contacted	Responded	Percentage
Education Authority	permission	letter	14	12	86%
Education Authority	interview	phone	12	7	58%
Headteacher	permission	letter/ e-mail	60	60 (8 negative)	100%
Class Teacher	questionnaire	letter	81	35	43%
Class Teacher	questionnaire	letter	21	18	86%
Class Teacher	interview	phone	16	15	94%

Once the foundation of the research was laid, and enough background data had been gathered to make an informed decision regarding the selection of case studies, classroom observation sessions were arranged. Six Gaelic-medium units (GMUs) were selected: Central Primary, Daliburgh School, Meadowburn Primary, Salen Primary, Sleat Primary, and Stornoway Primary (see Table 2). These schools were chosen on the basis of teacher willingness and experience, the distribution of P1-3 classes, pupil numbers and language background, education authority, and location. The goal behind the selection was to involve schools that embodied a range of characteristics, such as native speaker and learner teachers, composite and single classes, Gaelic- and English-dominant communities, and rural and urban settings.

As recommended in R. Mills' (1988: 2) guide to classroom observation, the schools involved are "neither representative nor untypical," including the fact that all case-study teachers were female: around 93% of primary teachers in Scotland in 2004 were (Scottish Executive (2004). Each classroom was observed four times throughout the year, for one afternoon and one morning on each occasion, with the exception of the Central P2-3 class, which was observed only once each observation round (see Appendix A). The total amount of observation was 130 hours over 52 sessions, 10 hours for Central P2-3 and 20 hours each for the other six classrooms. The teachers involved were interviewed at each visit to expand on their questionnaire answers and to elaborate on general themes of interest as well as on specific aspects of teaching literacy noted in the previous observation session.

Table 2 - Case Study Schools

School	**Location**	**Authority**	**Classes Observed**
Central Primary	Inverness	Highland	P1, P2-3
Daliburgh School	South Uist	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	P3-4
Meadowburn Primary	Bishopbriggs	East Dunbartonshire	P1-2
Salen Primary	Isle of Mull	Argyll & Bute	P1-3
Sleat Primary	Isle of Skye	Highland	P1-2
Stornoway Primary	Isle of Lewis	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	P1-2

Observation was essential for understanding the dimension of real-time learning, which in some cases contrasted with policy ideals and indeed with what teachers had reported in questionnaires and interviews. Although the observation was centred on classroom activity and accomplishments, pupils were not directly assessed in the study due to their age (four to seven years), the difficulties of obtaining informed consent, and the lack of standardised testing. Nonetheless, during the observation sessions there was a significant amount of child-initiated interaction, which added to the material collected. The detailed fieldwork notes (see Appendix B) include descriptions of the

physical layout of the classroom, the resources available in each classroom, the teaching techniques observed, and the daily activity of the classroom. Certain themes relating to literacy were the focus of more detailed analysis.

Parents were involved throughout the study in order to broaden the perspective beyond the classroom. They were able to provide valuable information such as the amount of text the child was exposed to in the home, the child's use of and attitudes toward Gaelic outside of the school, and any noticeable progress in language and literacy skills. With the permission of headteachers and class teachers, a questionnaire was distributed to the parents of the 104 children in the case-study classes. This initial questionnaire dealt with the language background of family members, the support available to the pupil(s) in GME, and the role of reading in the home (see Appendix C5); the response rate was 72%. The 42 parents who agreed to further involvement were then sent a second questionnaire detailing Gaelic reading in the home, with a particular focus on resources (see Appendix C6); this follow-up questionnaire had a response rate of 36%.

By comparing several methods of data collection, including questionnaires, interviews, and classroom observation, triangulation was made possible. Both data and methodological triangulation were used to verify results. Triangulation is mentioned by Faltis (1997: 150) as a way of establishing internal validity in a case study, along with long term observation at the case site and checking and re-checking assertions. All of these tactics were implemented throughout the research period. Because resources and techniques were the focus of the observations, field notes were used rather than audio or audiovisual recording. These notes included information on the timing of various activities, the actions of teacher and pupils, the skills taught and their related strategies, the materials used, and the physical environment in which learning took place. Although the emphasis of the study is comparison between Gaelic-medium units within Scotland, it is both necessary

and informative to refer to procedures used in English-medium units as well as in other minority language contexts, most notably in Ireland and Wales.

Throughout the study, contacts were made with educators, policy makers, and others involved in the field. These included Boyd Robertson, senior lecturer in Gaelic at the University of Strathclyde; Marilyn Martin-Jones for theories of ethnographic research; Margaret MacIver from Comunn na Gàidhlig; staff at Stòrlann, particularly Margaret Maclean; and Mona Wilson, Gaelic lecturer for the PGDE course at Strathclyde. All were helpful in providing an additional perspective on the challenges of Gaelic-medium education. The document *Improving Reading at the Early Stages 5-14*, prepared by HM Inspectors of Schools (1998), provides explicit expectations for literacy development at the primary level and was used as a point of reference. Other factors in the analysis included a consideration of class size, teacher ability, history of the Gaelic-medium unit, resources available, children's language background and use, and parental support. Priority was given to identifying "best practice" in the classroom, with the realisation that this must be compiled from several teachers.

The data from the questionnaires, interviews, and 130 hours of classroom observation was analysed largely thematically, including topics such as language background, extracurricular support, available resources, environmental print, oral language use, and progress in literacy acquisition (see Appendix B for a sample of such analysis). Although questionnaires and interviews allowed for a partially quantitative approach (for example, Tables 7 and 9), the majority of analysis was qualitative and ethnographic in nature. Comparison across case-study schools was not strongly emphasised as the characteristics of each unit were so different. However, similarities, particularly in teaching techniques, outweighed these differences.

2.2.2 - justification

The observational methodology was chosen over a more quantitative approach in order to accommodate the great variability found in Gaelic-medium classrooms. It is therefore the nature of the situation being analysed that dictated the methodology. As Donmoyer (2000: 80) remarks,

> there is typically a trade-off to be made between the increased potential for generalizability flowing from studying a large number of sites and the increased depth and breadth of description and understanding made possible by a focus on a small number of sites.

The six case study schools stood out due to idiosyncratic features such as location and teacher enthusiasm; the schedules of transportation available in the Highlands and Islands, particularly of ferries, had an impact on logistics. Efforts were made to conduct observations "systematically and repeatedly over varying conditions," as suggested by Denzin ((1989) quoted in Adler & Adler 1994: 381) (see Appendix A). The subjective nature of an observational methodology is unavoidable, but its effects can be minimised through applying the same criteria, in this case survey and interview questions, to all sources (Appendix C). Even if it had been possible to observe classrooms in each of the 61 GMUs in 2004-2005, the size of the entire sample is too small to allow for strict control of variables. The classification of units into groups must therefore be done according to superficial features such as governing authority, class size, and language background of pupils. These features do have an impact on classroom practice, but are quite general and largely unambiguous.

The observational nature of ethnographic fieldwork allows for the consideration of multiple factors arising from a continually changing situation. Observation provides its own data, and can also help to "focus and verify interviews" (Wragg *et al.* 1998: 11). Examples from individual teachers add depth and richness not available in quantitative approaches. Parents provide further information: "Comments from the parents can provide insights into the reading strategies and interests of the children as well as giving the parents' perspective on reading growth" (R. Campbell 2002: 9). The analysis of the

Bilingual Education Project, which ran from 1975-82 in the Western Isles, by Morrison and Murray (1984) provides an excellent example of combining analysis with description of what was encountered in the field.

Part of the rationale behind choosing a qualitative and observational approach is the intended audience for the research results. Weaver (1988: 221) states that

> classroom teachers themselves tend to be impressed less by empirical (often laboratory) research than by naturalistic, *ethnographic* research, including case studies and extensive classroom observation that is not necessarily quantifiable.

It is rarely possible for primary teachers to achieve the strict controls, sample sizes, and randomisation required for statistically valid quantitative research. Such experiments often focus on only one aspect of a situation, equalising all other variables; this approach is impractical in classrooms and may be dismissed by teachers as unrealistic. The value of case studies is the opportunity to determine the most valuable aspects of a wide range of features: in this case, the resources, teaching techniques, and extra-curricular support related to literacy acquisition in Gaelic-medium primary classrooms.

Chapter 3: LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

3.1 - Scottish Gaelic

An awareness of the specific historical background and sociolinguistics of Scottish Gaelic is essential to understanding the current state of the language. Factors such as demographics, language attitudes, governmental initiatives, and contexts of language use all contribute to the overall picture. Policies that do not take such factors into account are likely to be unsuccessful. Implementing informed decisions toward workable solutions requires a solid understanding of how Gaelic is currently perceived and used.

3.1.1 - language use

The Celtic languages are divided into two main branches, the Goidelic and the Brythonic. Scottish Gaelic is a member of the Goidelic branch; its sister languages are Irish and Manx Gaelic. The Brythonic branch comprises Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. For the historical background of Gaelic, see section 3.1.2. The 2001 census reported 58,652 speakers in Scotland, slightly over 1.2% of the total population. The census also asked about understanding, reading, and writing Gaelic, which added to the total number with some Gaelic knowledge: significant numbers (27, 219, or .5% of the Scottish population) reported only understanding Gaelic, indicating that they had passive but not active knowledge of the language; this type of knowledge was most common among the middle-aged who had not had Gaelic at school (MacKinnon (2006)); 1,435 people had literate but not oral skills.

Approximately half of Gaelic speakers live in the Western Isles and the Highlands. These areas are referred to as the traditional heartland of Gaelic, although numbers even there are in decline. Significant numbers also live in English-dominant urban centres such as Edinburgh and Glasgow: these may be migrants, second-generation speakers, or learners. Gaelic-speaking migrants are also likely to move to England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Nova

Scotia is the only area outside the UK with a sizeable population of Scottish Gaelic speakers. Although exact numbers of Gaelic-speaking Nova Scotians are not known, there are estimated to be fewer than 800 speakers, many very elderly (*An Gàidheal Ùr* March 2006).

The demographics of Gaelic are skewed in terms of age, with a high percentage of Gaelic speakers being elderly: in 2001 25% were over the age of 65, and fewer than 50% were under the age of 40 (General Register Office for Scotland (2005)). These numbers are largely due to the disintegration of intergenerational language transmission. Gaelic-medium education has had some effect on the numbers of school-age children able to speak Gaelic, but it remains to be seen what the lasting impact of such efforts will be as language use in the home continues to decline. All current speakers of Gaelic are bilingual in English, with the possible exception of extremely young children in Gaelic-speaking homes. Some older speakers are Gaelic-dominant in certain contexts. McLeod (2001: 7) emphasises the generational differences, stating that "tha Gàidhlig aig òganaich fhathast, gun teagamh, ach mar as trice is e Gàidhlig cuimseach tana, beurlaichte a th' innte, gun fharsaingeachd briathrachais no gnàthais-cainnt[1]."

While Gaelic can be used in any context, it is now mainly confined to use in the home and community gatherings. In the Western Isles, it is also common for Gaelic to be used for local shopping (for statistics on contextual use, see MacKinnon's (2006) analysis of the 1994-1995 Euromosaic survey). Many speakers lack the range of registers to be able to use Gaelic in contexts such as professional transactions or academic discourse. Crofting was once strongly associated with Gaelic, and, as with many other minority languages, religion also provided a pervasive context for Gaelic use. These two traditional mainstays of the language have lost much of their influence, particularly among the younger generations. There is no longer any domain for which Gaelic is the default language. Nor there is any civil parish in Scotland in

[1] "Young people still speak Gaelic, without a doubt, but usually it is fairly thin, anglicised Gaelic, without a breadth of vocabulary or idiom."

which Gaelic is now spoken by greater than 75% of the population, the number proposed by MacKinnon (2006) as the minimum for regularly encountering opportunities to use Gaelic on the street; in fact, only around 25% of Gaelic speakers live in parishes where they are a local majority (*ibid.*). Furthermore, a group of Gaelic speakers will generally switch into speaking English to accommodate a non-speaker, thus reducing the opportunities for extended use (MacKinnon 1992: 7).

Speaker attitudes toward Gaelic, however, are generally positive, as demonstrated by the 1994-1995 Euromosaic survey. Unfortunately, these supportive attitudes do not necessarily translate into actual language use. An analysis by age of the use of Gaelic clearly shows the decline in intergenerational transmission. Even in households where both parents speak Gaelic, only 68% of their children do so; if only one parent speaks Gaelic this percentage goes down to 21% (MacKinnon (2006)). Grandparents are likely to use Gaelic in speaking to each other and their relatives, parents between each other less so, parents to children less than this, and children speaking to each other are not likely to use Gaelic at all. Moreover, between the 1988 and 1995 surveys, there was a significant decline in all groups in the amount of interaction through Gaelic. The disproportionate use of Gaelic by the younger age groups in particular is a matter of concern for the continued survival of the language.

In terms of literacy, the education system has had a clear impact on ability levels. Differences related to age group are again noticeable, although for this aspect of language use, the younger generations outperform older speakers. Overall, according to the 2001 census as discussed in section 2.1, 67% of Gaelic speakers are able to read, with 45% being able to both read and write (General Register Office for Scotland (2005)). These percentages have increased since the 1991 census, most likely as the result of GME. Ability, however, does not equate with use. As MacDonald (2002: 3) emphasises, "such quantification [in the Census] reveals almost nothing about the importance of

Gaelic literacy in cultural, social, economic and political life." The only groups likely to read and write in Gaelic on a regular basis are teachers in Gaelic-medium units and secondary school subject teachers, those working in the media and publishing, and dedicated language activists, particularly those involved in Gaelic development. Most make a conscious decision to use Gaelic rather than English. In general, comfort and confidence levels in terms of literacy, even for native speakers (or, perhaps, especially for older native speakers), are much higher in English.

Gaelic is now in many situations the "marked" language rather than the default one. Although Gaelic is no longer stigmatised to the extent that it has been in the past, there exist very few areas in Scotland where hearing Gaelic on a regular basis is the norm. McLeod (2001: 1) makes the following prediction about Gaelic in the 21st century: "Is ann mar dàrna cànain, ga bruidhinn ann an lìon-cheanglaichean sgapte, seach prìomh-chànain dhùthchasach ga bruidhinn ann an sgìrean cruinneolach, a bhios a' Ghàidhlig beò[2]." The public profile of the language is essential to its maintenance and development; how Gaelic is currently perceived has much to do with its history.

3.1.2 – historical overview of decline

Gaelic has always co-existed with the other languages of Scotland. It was introduced in the 4th or 5th centuries AD by settlers from Ireland, and formed part of a dialect continuum. Gaelic Scotland and Ireland share a literary history. There are few areas in mainland Scotland where Gaelic has never been spoken. Although once used in court and by the government, as well as being the only language for many people, Gaelic began to lose ground to English as early as the twelfth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Gaelic and Gaelic speakers faced outright persecution as well as more subtle benign neglect; such factors included "deliberate attempts... to

[2] "Gaelic will survive as a second language, spoken in scattered networks, rather than as a main, native language spoken in geographical districts."

extirpate the language... anglicising influences... [and] discriminatory policies" (Robertson 2001a: 84). Many of the efforts to suppress the language were related to political will to subjugate the clans. The clan system was an important stronghold of Gaelic even after clans had lost much of their power; MacKinnon (1991a: 37) notes that there existed "a common literary standard, mutually intelligible common speech, common oral traditions, dress, customs and lifestyle."

Mass emigration, caused in part by the Clearances and by famine, also reduced speaker numbers throughout the nineteenth century. Gradually, the language was pushed to the northern and western fringes of Scotland, a process that continues today. Shifts in language loyalty came about through religion, economic pressures, and particularly migration to English-speaking urban centres. The two world wars in the twentieth century caused great loss of young men in many Gaelic-speaking communities, in some cases leading to non-sustainable populations. Educational policies that neglected Gaelic also contributed to decline (see section 3.1.4).

At the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Gaelic speakers was around 250,000, or 6% of the population of Scotland, among them many monoglots (Robertson 2001b: 7). Since that time, the number has decreased to just over 58,000, or 1.2% of the population, and all speakers are at least bilingual in English. Both absolutely and relatively, the language community is shrinking. MacKinnon (2004: 24) emphasises that for language maintenance the proportion of Gaelic speakers under 25 should be one third of the total; this number has fallen from 26.7% in 1921 to 21.9% in 2001. Although the decline has been gradual, the pace has increased, as can be seen by changes between the denary national censuses.

3.1.3 - revitalisation

The extent and gravity of the decline in Gaelic language use was publicly realised in the mid-twentieth century, as evidenced by an upsurge in interest

in the use of Gaelic in education that was partially due to the beginnings of the language movement in Wales (MacKinnon 1991a: 100). Most notably, parents were no longer speaking the language to their children in many areas, thus interrupting the intergenerational transmission crucial to the maintenance of any language. English had replaced Gaelic in many domains, both practically and psychologically, with English seen as the language necessary for social and professional advancement (*ibid.* 80). Predictions for the future of the language were dire, and grassroots activity began to push for a language revitalisation similar to that taking place in Wales, Ireland, and farther afield.

Many of these early initiatives have since developed into a variety of organisations supporting and promoting Gaelic, often partly run by volunteers. The major organisations now involved in the revitalisation movement cover a range of different aspects of language planning. One of the most influential is the development agency Comunn na Gàidhlig. Established in 1984, Comunn na Gàidhlig has as its main goal promoting Gaelic and developing opportunities for its use. The organisation focuses on four main areas: Education, Youth, Community, and Strategy & Promotion. Comunn na Gàidhlig oversees other initiatives, including Gaelic in the Community, the youth group *Sradagan*, and the parent organisation Comann nam Pàrant. Comann nam Pàrant provides support for the parents of children in Gaelic-medium units through local groups, as well as representing the interests of parents with a national committee. Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, the Gaelic Playgroups Association, has been a major influence in the development of Gaelic-medium education. Clì Gàidhlig, originally Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (the Gaelic Learners' Association), provides support for learners as well as promoting the language and disseminating information.

Many of these groups are involved in language planning and development at both the local and the national level. Promoting Gaelic-medium education, expanding the available media, and securing legal status have been

three focal points for revitalisation efforts. The Scottish Executive (2000; 2002) identifies four functional areas for development:

1. education and learning;
2. arts, culture and heritage;
3. economic and social development; and
4. language planning and development.

Since devolution in 1999, Gaelic has had a role in the Scottish Parliament, although it has been claimed that the approach of the Scottish Executive is "minimalist, tokenistic, and ad hoc" (Dunbar 2001: 246). The unanimous passage of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act in April 2005 was a significant step for the language. The Act provides for:

-the recognition of Gaelic as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect with English;
-the establishment of Bòrd na Gàidhlig as a statutory body promoting Gaelic, including creating a National Gaelic Language Plan, advising local authorities, and assisting with developments in education;
-and requires public bodies to create Gaelic language plans.

Although not worded as strongly as some language activists recommended in the public review, the Act does provide a measure of "secure status" for the language. The implementation of language plans will take time, but the psychological impact of the Act should not be underestimated, nor should its potential repercussions, both positive and negative. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ratified in the United Kingdom in 2001, has also provided some encouragement; for example, local authorities will be required "to make available primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages" (section 8.1.b.i). McLeod (2002a: 288) analyses its effects:

> ged a tha i lag ann an iomadach dòigh, tha a' Chairt Eòrpach gu math cudromach don choimhearsnachd Ghàidhlig ann an Alba. Tha poileasaidhean an Riaghaltais a' tighinn fon phrospaig ann an dòigh ùir, agus is ann a rèir shlatan-tomhais eadar-nàiseanta agus a rèir sgrùdaidhean le eòlaichean eadar-nàiseanta a thèid na poileasaidhean seo a mheasadh. Chan e seo an "inbhe thèarainte" a tha luchd-iomairt na Gàidhlig a' sireadh, ach tha àrainneachd ùr ann

> a-nis agus tha seo a' toirt chothroman ùra don choimhearsnachd Ghàidhlig argamaidean a dhealbhadh agus iomairtean a thogail.[3]

Gaelic is promoted not only in the political sphere but also in and through public bodies. The use of Gaelic and other minority languages in the media is one of the most effective ways of increasing language awareness and making the language more prominent and accessible. The Gaelic Broadcasting Fund and media-related efforts receive 8.7 million pounds per year, approximately 60% of the funds available for Gaelic development from the Scottish Executive. There is currently neither a full-time Gaelic-dedicated radio station nor a Gaelic-dedicated television channel (although a digital channel may be forthcoming). Both types of media share airtime with English programmes. *Radio nan Gàidheal*, a division of the BBC, broadcasts 24 different programmes in Gaelic, totalling approximately 63 hours per week in early 2006; the rest of the airtime is as Radio Scotland. The BBC also produces television programmes, as do some of the independent terrestrial channels. These programmes, with the exception of some of the children's programmes, are nearly always subtitled in English. Gaelic in the newspapers and other printed media is less visible. Some national and local papers have weekly Gaelic columns; *An Gàidheal Ùr* is a monthly all-Gaelic newspaper and newsletter that focuses on Gaelic topics.

By far the most hope for Gaelic language revitalisation has been placed in the education system. In a few areas of Scotland, it is possible for a child to be educated in Gaelic from pre-school through tertiary education, although there are still many parts of the country that do not offer instruction in Gaelic at all. Gaelic-medium education, using immersion methodology, is the most popular method at the primary level (see section 3.1.4). Other initiatives

---

[3] "Although it is weak in many ways, the European Charter is quite important for the Gaelic community in Scotland. Government policies are coming under scrutiny in a new way, and it is according to international criteria and investigations by international experts that these policies will be assessed. This is not the "secure status" that Gaelic activists are seeking, but there is now a new environment and this gives to the Gaelic community new opportunities to articulate arguments and initiate campaigns."

include playgroups and pre-schools, the Gaelic Learners in the Primary School scheme, bilingual classes, subjects available as Gaelic-medium in secondary schools, and Standard Grade and Higher examinations for native speakers and for learners. At the tertiary level, three universities (Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen) have Celtic departments that offer Gaelic courses; Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and Lews Castle College offer Gaelic-medium courses as part of the University of the Highlands & Islands Millennium Institute. Teacher training is available at three institutions as well as through a distance learning course (section 6.4.2.1).

The effects of these various revitalisation efforts have not yet made a statistically significant difference in the continued decline of Gaelic. Gaelic-medium education has resulted in a slight increase in Gaelic-speakers in the 4-15 age group: between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the number of speakers in this age group increased by 448 while every other age group except the under-4 experienced a decrease in numbers (General Register Office for Scotland (2005)). Yet these minimal improvements are not nearly sufficient to replace the loss of speakers through death and language shift. The Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic in 2002 recommended 10,000 new speakers per year, and MacKinnon (2005) states that "to match current demographic loss, GME needs at least 733 pupils in each preschool, primary, and secondary year"; the current average is around 200, with more pupils at the lower levels. Furthermore, all of these pupils would need to become confident, regular users of the language. Although adult learners are common, very few learn the language to fluency or have frequent opportunities to speak it; perhaps only 1,500 adults in Scotland in 2001 had done so (McLeod 2001: 2). Gaelic is rapidly ceasing to operate as a community language, and it remains to be seen in what condition the language will survive the next half-century.

3.1.4 - Gaelic-medium education

Gaelic-medium education (GME) is based on immersion methodology: all instruction in the early stages is through Gaelic. The aim of Gaelic-medium

education, according to the National Guidelines (Scottish Office Education Department (1993)), is to produce balanced bilinguals who will choose to use Gaelic. As part of the language revitalisation movement, Gaelic-medium education is intended to reverse language shift; with present availability and enrolment it is not in a position to do so. Nevertheless, the immersion method has been more successful in creating fluent speakers than any previous method, including bilingual teaching. The public profile of GME has risen, and it is acknowledged as a considerable part of the education system even by teachers and parents not involved with Gaelic-medium units. Provision of GME has been continually expanding, with 61 primary schools offering GME in 2004-2005, catering for 2,008 pupils; in 2005-2006, 2065 pupils were involved in GME (see Tables 3 and 4). It is available in 14 of 32 local authorities, with the majority of units and two-thirds of pupils in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Highland, and Argyll & Bute authorities (see Table 8).

3.1.4.1 – history of movement

The current form of Gaelic-medium education has definite predecessors. Although Gaelic was the preferred language of a large proportion of the population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the role of Gaelic in formal education was very much marginalised until the mid-twentieth century. In the eighteenth century, the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge used some Gaelic in their schools, mainly to be sure their religious message was understood, and as a bridge to English. Other schools established by religious organisations at this period used Gaelic at their discretion, sometimes extensively, in areas in which there were monoglot Gaelic speakers. Yet with the establishment of State education in 1872, Gaelic was dealt a blow in educational provision from which some would argue it has not yet recovered (e.g. MacKinnon 1991a: 75). This first Education (Scotland) Act did not acknowledge Gaelic, and the use of solely English became standard. Not until 1918 was a Gaelic clause introduced that required the teaching of Gaelic in the curriculum, which had been permitted since 1905.

Educational policies were still largely assimilationist: for example, Gaelic language and literature were usually taught through the medium of English (D. Macleod 2003: 1). Even in the mid-twentieth century, the majority of crofters' children in the Western Isles had to learn English at school as a second language before they could access the curriculum (C. Smith 1948: 11; McLeod 2001: 6). Their Gaelic language abilities were frequently regarded as an obstacle to be overcome in the acquisition of English. Parents soon came to adopt the schools' view of English as the preferred language, and so began to use English in the home as well. The effects of this attitude can be seen in the numbers of now middle-aged people with only a passive knowledge of Gaelic.

The current Education Act of 1980, as in 1918, "places an obligation on education authorities to make provision for 'the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas'" (Robertson 2001b: 87). These areas are not specified, thus potentially excluding places such as Glasgow, which have large numbers of Gaelic speakers that, although they make up a low percentage of the total population of the area, are nevertheless also interested in education in and through Gaelic. Additionally, the type of teaching, whether as a foreign language, bilingual, or Gaelic-medium, is not mentioned. There are currently fourteen education authorities that offer primary Gaelic-medium education; sixteen authorities receive Specific Grants for Gaelic education (HMIE (2005)). The scheme for grants was established in 1986 and provides funding for new developments. It has been principally parental demand and local pressure, rather than national policies, which have led to developments and advances in Gaelic education. However, as Rogers and McLeod (forthcoming 2006: 31) point out, "activists have never sought to open private Gaelic schools but have consistently worked with the public authorities and within the state sector."

In the 1970s, concerns were raised by the Gaelic community about the erosion of language abilities amongst Gaelic-speaking children in the Western Isles (Robertson 2001b: 12). The Bilingual Education Project, which ran from 1975 to 1981, intended to provide the school curriculum in both languages,

thus developing competence in all academic areas (for a review of the project, see Murray & Morrison (1984)). Twenty rural schools were involved in the initial stages, and the policies were eventually extended to all primary schools within the newly established authority. English still played a dominant role, however, in that literacy was first introduced in English even for native Gaelic speakers (MacKinnon 1986-7: 32). The Bilingual Education Project was in many ways a success, particularly in demonstrating that such a system was not detrimental to children's academic development. However, language shift meant that more and more children were coming into the system from non-Gaelic-speaking homes, and, as Robertson (2001a: 95) states,

> doubts about the ability of bilingual models to deliver fluency in Gaelic, comparable to that in English, and a growing awareness of the extent of language erosion amongst children brought parents, educationalists and language activists to the realisation that a different approach was required.

The immersion method of education was proposed by parents and activists (MacLeod 2003: 3) as an effective way to address these issues, based on models with reported success for minority languages in Canada, Ireland, and Wales. The first Gaelic-medium primary units opened in Scotland in 1985, one in Glasgow and one in Inverness. It was only a year later that a GMU was opened in the Western Isles at Breasclete, Lewis, where there was a significantly higher proportion of native Gaelic-speaking children. While GME is touted as "immersion education", that is, Gaelic is introduced as a second language, some pupils are fluent in Gaelic before attending school and many have some knowledge gained in the *cròileagain* (see below). This range in language ability leads to pedagogical challenges.

One of the major factors in the development of GME was the proliferation of Gaelic-medium playgroups and pre-schools, brought about in large part through the efforts of Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, the Gaelic Playgroups Association established in 1982 by Fionnlagh MacLeòid. Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich has been instrumental in providing support and resources for parents wishing to raise their children to speak Gaelic. In most

areas, the groups, or *còileagain*, act as "feeders" for the local GMU. As evidence of their success, Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich went from 4 playgroups at its inception to over 120 in 2006; 83% of children in GME in 2000 had attended *còileagain* (Stradling & MacNeil 2000: 2).

Since its inception, Gaelic-medium education has expanded greatly, both in terms of pupil enrolment and in the number of authorities and schools offering it. In the period between 1989 and 1993, an average of six new units was established per year (MacLeod 2003: 5-6). Yet development has slowed in recent years due to a combination of factors including falling pupil rolls overall, lack of space, and, most restricting, teacher shortages. There is a demand which cannot be met due to these factors. Furthermore, "parents still have no statutory right to ensure that their children receive GME" (Dunbar 2001: 243).

Table 3 - Number of Gaelic-medium Units 1985-2005

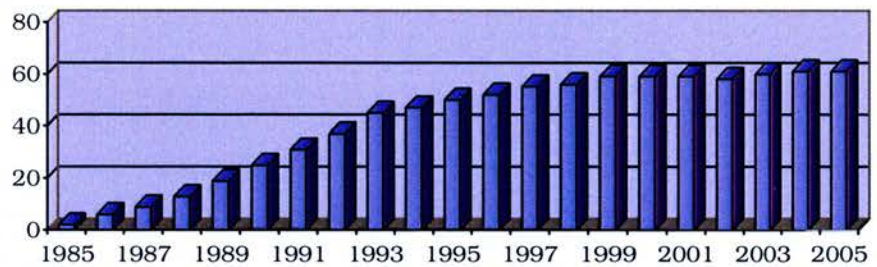
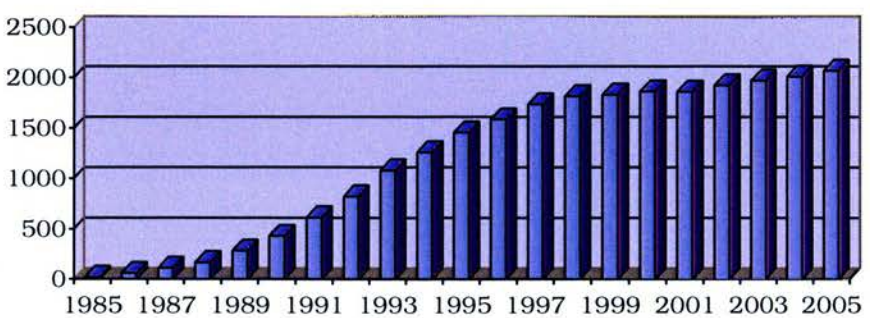


Table 4 - Numbers of Pupils in Gaelic-medium Units 1985-2005



In 2004-2005, the year of the case study, 61 of 2,258 primary schools offered GME, catering for 2,008 of about 413,500 pupils. In 2003, there were 150 primary teachers involved in GME (Ward 2003: 38). Thus, although 2.7% of schools have Gaelic-medium units (GMUs), these units educate less than .5% of the school-age population. Even in the Western Isles, where more than 60% of the population speaks Gaelic, only 23% of children in 2004-2005 were in GME (Mackinnon (2005)). Considering that the total percentage of Gaelic speakers in Scotland was 1.2% in the 2001 census, GME is not reversing language shift. Although between two hundred and three hundred pupils leave Gaelic-medium primary units annually (MacLeod 2003: 12), fewer than half of these pupils go into secondary education in or through Gaelic (Robasdan 2006: 89), and little research has been done on these pupils' language use after leaving school. Even if all of these pupils continued to use Gaelic on a daily basis, such numbers do not replace annual loss of speakers (see section 3.1.3).

Overall, Gaelic-medium units utilising immersion have proved to be a more successful and effective education method than previous techniques: "With few exceptions, the bilingual approach has not been implemented successfully, whereas the Gaelic-medium approach has worked well" (HM Inspectors 1994: 17 quoted in Johnstone 1999: 9). Another example of the public acknowledgment of the success of the system is indicated by the opening of the first dedicated all-Gaelic primary school in 1999 in Glasgow, Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu. Another dedicated school is set to open in Inverness in 2007. While the Glasgow school is not in a strongly Gaelic-speaking area, the pupil rolls are high (172 in 2004-2005 and 195 in 2005-2006) and the population sufficiently concentrated to ensure continued demand. There are also five primary schools in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar that are designated as Gaelic schools, although these also have English classes. Stoneybridge Primary in South Uist and Sleat Primary on the Isle of Skye may become dedicated all-Gaelic schools; much community debate has arisen has the result of these proposals. English-medium education is still the default,

and "parents must affirmatively choose Gaelic-medium education" (Rogers & McLeod forthcoming 2006: 35).

Another development has been the introduction of the Gaelic Learners in the Primary School scheme (GLPS), based on the Modern Languages in the Primary School scheme. The scheme was started in 2000 in Argyll & Bute, and has since spread to other authorities, including East Ayrshire, North Lanarkshire, Stirling, and Perth & Kinross. Non-Gaelic-speaking teachers receive approximately twenty hours of tuition in Gaelic language and culture; the children in their (English-medium) classes then have approximately one hour a week of Gaelic lessons (Johnstone (2003)). In 2005, around 4500 children were involved in GLPS (Bòrd na Gàidhlig (2006)). The scheme is intended to increase interest in the language and encourage pupils to study Gaelic at the secondary level, as well as to expose more schoolchildren to Gaelic.

One major impediment to the continued expansion and success of GME is the lack of continuity to the secondary school. While some teaching through Gaelic is available, it is only offered at some schools (14 in 2004-2005): only a limited range of subjects, including History, Geography, Maths, and Art, are offered, and these overwhelmingly at S1/S2 levels. There are separate courses for fluent speakers and for learners, with ensuing examinations. In most of Comhairle nan Eilean Siar and the Western part of Highland Council, all pupils in S1 and S2 take Gaelic as a foreign language if they are not in the Gaelic-medium stream. Although most Gaelic-medium primaries feed into secondary schools that offer courses through Gaelic, the uptake is not high, typically less than 50% (Robertson (2006)). In some cases, this is because continuity is not an option; in others, parents or the pupils themselves opt out of the system.

3.1.4.2 – value of Gaelic-medium education

Significant funds and effort have gone into the development of the Gaelic-medium education system. GME is often viewed as the method must likely to maintain and revitalise Gaelic (Mike Watson 2002: 29), although after more than twenty years the system has done little to reverse language shift. This underperformance is due in part to the limited effectiveness of immersion education in producing regular users of the language and in part due to the low levels of enrolment. In 2001, fewer than 7000 children in Scotland could speak Gaelic, and only a minority have access to Gaelic-medium education (Russell 2001: 25); around 2000 per year. The projected expansion has not yet been realised, mainly as a result of teacher shortages (see section 6.4.2). Yet far more pupils now speak Gaelic than would if GME were not available. One area of concern is the lack of internal assessment of the system. Ward (2003: 37) points out that "of the fourteen Scottish local authorities currently making Gaelic-medium provision only three authorities employ Gaelic Quality Improvement Officers"; Jean Nisbet (2003: 72) adds that "there is no Gaelic HMI in the primary sector[,] where all the developments in GME of the past thirty years have taken place."

According to the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14, the purpose of GME is to provide pupils with "broadly equal competence in Gaelic and English, in all the skills, by the end of P7" (Scottish Office Education Department 1993: 6). For the most part, GMUs are successful in achieving this goal, although Fraser (1989: 38) cautions that children who have experienced Gaelic immersion may not be ready for assessment in English by P4 when the first tests are administered. The 1999 report *Attainments of Pupils Receiving Gaelic-medium Primary Education in Scotland* by Johnstone *et al.* is often cited as proof that GME is successful. In particular, many promotional materials, such as those produced by Comunn na Gàidhlig and Highland Council, quote the conclusion that

> pupils receiving Gaelic-medium primary education, whether or not Gaelic was the language of the home, were not being disadvantaged in comparison with children educated through English. In many though not all instances they outperformed English-medium pupils and in addition gained the advantage of having become proficient in two languages (Johnstone 1999: 12).

Parents in particular have often invested a great deal of effort into establishing or maintaining the local Gaelic-medium unit, and in many cases in learning Gaelic themselves through classes offered by the primary school itself; courses delivered by Clì, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, and other organisations; or independent study. As Johnstone (1999: 69) described it, "from a parent's point of view, opting for Gaelic-medium education for one's children represents a major commitment, to some extent an act of faith." Gaelic-medium education is therefore of great psychological as well as practical importance. For many pupils in GME, their only exposure to the language is during the school day, which puts them at a distinct disadvantage as compared to native speakers with Gaelic in the home, particularly in terms of idiomatic expressions and vocabulary. Yet without the education system, such pupils, many of whom live outwith the Gaidhealtachd, would have no opportunity to learn the language. Robertson (1999: 45-6) lists the following as factors in parents' decisions to put their children into GME:

> maintenance and development of the mother tongue, restoration to a family of a language that has skipped a generation or two, acquisition of a second language, the perceived advantages of bilingualism and access to Gaelic culture and heritage.

In order to realise these goals, the National Guidelines define the expected and desired outcomes of Gaelic-medium education as "having a knowledge about Gaelic, listening attentively, talking to the point, reading with understanding, and writing fluently, legibly, and with accurate spelling and punctuation" (Scottish Office Education Department 1993: 4). These skills are in addition to equal skills in English as well as a solid grasp of the content areas of the primary curriculum. One aspect of GME that the National Guidelines does not emphasise strongly enough is the cultural benefits that can be gained, such as an appreciation for Gaelic songs and music or the long-

standing tradition of poetry composition. For pupils educated in Gaelic to continue to use the language once they leave school, and to continue to be involved in the cultural aspects of the Gaelic community, there must be opportunities for them to use the language. GME must be tied into broader language planning; it cannot be successful on its own (McLeod 2001: 4).

3.2. - minority language revitalisation

In 1992, Krauss estimated that up to 90% of the world's 5,000 or so languages could be lost in the next century (quoted in UNESCO 2003b: 32); perhaps half are already endangered (*ibid.*). Such numbers are often found in discussions of language death. While they may seem drastic, the pace of language attrition and loss has certainly increased in the past century due to factors such as economic globalisation, increased ease of travel leading to a loss of isolation, and a rise in the use of *lingua franca* or trade languages. Linguists are unable to document all the rapidly disappearing languages, almost certainly including some that have not yet been "discovered". The decline in language diversity had been noted by linguists many decades prior to Krauss' statement. Such a decline was foreshadowed by early work, for example that of Franz Boas on Native American languages, as early as the 1880s.

Awareness does not necessarily lead to action, but the number of minority languages acknowledged as being in danger has certainly risen (cf. Wurm's (2001) *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing*). Concurrent with this acknowledgement of language loss has been an increased interest in various maintenance, revitalisation, and revival movements. The languages most commonly treated in research literature include Hebrew, Irish, and Māori, but hundreds if not thousands of other cases exist. There is a marked disparity between the languages that linguists and researchers consider to be most in danger and those that receive public attention and support. Areas of the world such as Papua New Guinea and the Amazon rainforest are renowned as linguistically diverse, yet are in danger of

homogenisation: research funds are most often aimed at languages with potential political impact such as French in Canada.

3.2.1 - defining a minority language

Defining a minority language can itself be a contentious issue. Working strictly with numbers of speakers can be misleading, as can looking at status, literary heritage, and other features in isolation from the context in which the language is used. For example, Breton may have nearly 300,000 speakers (Hicks 2003: 3), but the majority are elderly, meaning the language is in danger; Irish Gaelic has official status ("the first official language", while English is "a second official language") but the number of daily, fluent users of the language continues to decline; and Hebrew has a prestigious literary and religious history but only experienced revival through dedicated language activists. Looking at the proportion of speakers of a language within a larger population (that is, percentage of minority speakers v. percentage of dominant language speakers) is a helpful indicator of the language's status.

Absolute numbers such as those obtained from censuses can be misleading, since many speakers of the minority language are bilingual and self-reported responses may not represent actual language ability or use. If speaking a language is perceived as indicating rurality or backwardness, use may be under-reported, while if speaking a language is considered prestigious, use may be over-reported. Official status does signify some level of support, but this may be nominal; legal status also may not represent the distribution of languages in the country. For example, in many countries, English or another *lingua franca* such as French, Arabic, or Swahili is the most common although not officially recognised language, and conversely, some official languages are used only in very limited contexts.

Literacy rates can also be misleading when used as an indicator of minority language status. Many cultures place a higher value on verbal skills and oral heritage than on literacy, although there is the argument that to

survive in the modern age "a living language must be read as well as spoken" (Ekos Ltd. 2001: 3). The language may not be codified in a written form at all, as is the case with many aboriginal languages, or may be historically literary but have since been degraded, as was nearly the case with Scottish Gaelic. In some languages, the written and spoken forms are divergent, and the written form may be used only in certain contexts such as religion: Classical Arabic and its localised colloquial dialects is a good example.

To add further complications to the definition of a minority language, they are known by many other names. A language termed "heritage" or "community" often means that there is a focus on the cultural aspect of the language and on intergenerational transmission; these terms are also common for languages that immigrants have brought from their home country. "Endangered" takes advantage of heightened environmental awareness, emphasising a sense of urgency and drawing a reasonable parallel to issues of biodiversity and the broadly understood concept of endangered species (cf. Nettle & Romaine (2000) and UNESCO (2003b) for further discussion of this link). In the European context, languages may be referred to as "lesser-used", which minimises connotations of inferiority. Other terms may be applied depending on the perspective of the author; for example, "minorised" to refer to a language that has lost status due to external pressures. The history of many of these languages may contribute to the terms used. "Minority language" will be used here as being the most commonly accepted term. It is also the most applicable for describing Scottish Gaelic, reflecting the low percentage of the population speaking it, the low absolute number of speakers, and the relative status of the language compared to English.

Skutnabb-Kangas addresses the issue of minority languages in several of her works, questioning whether languages die naturally, are murdered, or commit suicide (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; 2005). While this analogy may not be entirely accurate, it raises important issues of how the public perceives

language death. Edwards' typological framework for minority languages is described as recognising

> eleven relevant factors, each of which is applied to *languages*, their *speakers*, and the *settings* in which they speak: demographic, sociological, linguistic, psychological, historical, political, geographical, educational, religious, economic, and technological. Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, focusing on endangered languages, suggest literacy as an additional factor, and propose a hierarchical organization of all factors, giving the economically based variables priority (Crystal 2000: 94).

Similarly, the concept of "ethnolinguistic vitality", proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), incorporates status, demographic concentration, and institutional support (quoted in Appel & Muysken (1987)). For many minority languages, few such facts are known: the language must first receive sufficient academic attention to merit investigation into these various aspects of typology.

3.2.2 - language maintenance

In any discussion of minority languages, it is necessary to consider both its speakers and those potentially against the language, which may include some speakers of the language. Baker (2006: 383) identifies three views of language: "language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource." It is quite straightforward to provide examples of these views, even within the same profession: a primary teacher in California could view a Spanish-speaking 7-year-old as anti-social and inferior in intellect, as struggling to become a citizen, or as providing a wealth of cultural and linguistic knowledge. One challenge for efforts to maintain a minority language is representing the language favourably to all these views. Additionally, as J. Edwards (1994: 11) points out, the characteristics that determine the strength of a minority language may also prove to be its weaknesses: rurality, isolation, and oral emphasis. The modernisation, and in many cases Westernisation, of the world has meant that it is increasingly rare for a speaker to be entirely monolingual and without contact with other languages, to be isolated to the

extent that another language is never needed, and to lack the need for written communication.

The increasing recognition and acceptance of the value of bilingualism has clearly contributed favourably to movements that support minority languages, although many remain unconvinced of their intrinsic value. Even in situations where the language is not actively discriminated against, there still exists a struggle for equality. A committed and involved approach to revitalisation is essential:

> mainstream tolerance for linguistic and cultural diversity within a society does not extend to active promotion of that diversity; an inability to perceive the difference between a passive goodwill and something more dynamic will clearly have serious consequences (J. Edwards 1994: 10).

An attitude of benign neglect can be harmful; in MacKinnon's words, it is "assassination by delay" (2006). Recognition by the government and the public is not a panacea; much work remains to be done. On the more positive side, factors such as "growing ethnic consciousness" and an awareness of urgency lead to public pressure on governments (V. Edwards 1984: 50). Many minority language movements begin at the grassroots level and then spread in both power and influence. Education and mass media may be considered "the most important direct agents in linguistic and cultural genocide" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002: 227) due to their ubiquity and pervasiveness, but they are also the tools most often targeted by activists for revitalisation.

While activists may be considered extremists, love for the language is less of a factor in language maintenance than religion, social class, and physical isolation (Paulston 1982: 36 quoted in Fraser 1989: 125). In fact, activists are not at all typical of the speakers of a language. The strongest voices in favour of revitalisation often are learners rather than native speakers, and tend to be "secure, successful, and...well-assimilated" (J. Edwards 1984b: 278), which are the opposites of the features that pushed their ancestors toward the majority language. It is quite rare in the twenty-first century for

peoples to be physically forced into speaking another language (one notable exception being the Kurds in Turkey), but social and economic pressures may have an even greater effect on language maintenance than direct persecution. In situations of bilingualism without diglossia, "the two languages compete for use in the same domains" (Romaine 1995: 37). In some cases linguists may advocate language preservation where few of the speakers see much need for the language; often the younger generation places little value on the minority language and prefers assimilation. Part of the reason for this attitude may be that young children "are sensitive to the status issues of languages, quickly perceiving where power and prestige are located" (Baker (1996) quoted in Datta 2000: 76-7).

As Sutherland (2000: 208) points out in a review of the Celtic language situation,

> ultimately, the survival of a language depends on a series of decisions by individuals – to learn, to use a language, to embark on teacher education so as to be able to teach the language or teach through the language; to speak a chosen language with their children.

The state cannot reasonably dictate and enforce language use in the home, and this intergenerational transmission, according to Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), is the most important domain for maintenance (Fishman ((1991)). Government policies can nevertheless provide psychological support and a sense of validation.

In order for language revitalisation to be successful in the long term, language use in the home must be supported in the community. While individual families of speakers may boost the number of speakers, a living language must have domains in which it is spoken and, moreover, in which it is the preferred language. Romaine (1989: 169) emphasises the difficulty in acquiring an *active* command of a minority language, as opposed to the passive skill of understanding, if that language is not supported in the community. The concept of a language community may seem an obvious point, but density of speakers in addition to absolute numbers must be considered. A language with

20,000 speakers may be very healthy if these speakers all live in one relatively isolated area and use the language on a daily basis. Indeed, many of the world's languages have never had more than this number of speakers at any given time. If, however, these speakers are scattered throughout a country in small groups and use a dominant language for most of their daily interactions, the language is in crisis.

Interestingly, Crystal (2000) "suggests that an endangered language will progress if its speakers... have a literacy in that language" (quoted in Baker 2006: 47). Baker goes on to cite evidence that

> where bilingualism exists without biliteracy, there is an increased likelihood of language decay. When someone can speak a minority language but not write in that language, the number of functions and uses of that language is diminished. Bilingualism without biliteracy also means a decrease in the status of that language, and less chance of a linguistically stable language (2006: 56), and that
>
> a language without literacy has little chance of long term survival either at the societal or individual level. Bilingual children must be biliterate for their languages to have value, uses and prospects. Also, bilingual children are likely to gain in school performance and have cognitive and cultural advantages if they are biliterate. Biliteracy aids chances of employment, achievement and enculturation (2000b: 107).

Emphasis should therefore be placed on developing the minority language through to literacy; this often occurs through the education system. Each language, however, will have specific challenges related to promoting literacy (see section 4.2.3). Harding & Riley (1986: 134) encourage biliteracy for the following reasons: "the 'cultural heritage' aspect, the linguistic aspect, the cognitive aspect, and [language] maintenance."

Abstand and *ausbau* languages face different challenges in terms of language maintenance. An *abstand* language is distinct from the languages it is in contact with; an *ausbau* language is quite similar in form to a standard language. In Scotland, Gaelic is an *abstand* language as a member of the Celtic language family, while Scots is an *ausbau* language (often referred to as a dialect) that shares its origins with English. Although both are indigenous, the

arguments for their use in education and the media differ (see Niven (2002)). In many ways, isolation and boundaries can be advantageous in preserving a minority language.

Robertson (1995: 73) provides a comprehensive list of features relating to the decline of Gaelic:

> the main reasons for the decline in Gaelic speaking are probably common to most lesser-used languages i.e. the constant struggle for bilinguals to maintain the minority language especially when their other language is a prestigious, international language, the pervasiveness of majority language culture in the media, a lack of public recognition of their language and inadequate facilities and resources to cater for minority language needs.

Given these influences working against speakers, the survival of many minority languages into the twenty-first century is little short of miraculous. Potential countering forces against these oppressive influences include a sense of cultural renewal, overt language maintenance, and confirmation of personal identity (MacNeil & Beaton 1994: 19). UNESCO (2003a: 5-6) identifies "five essential areas for sustaining endangered languages:

1. basic linguistic and pedagogical training
2. sustainable development in literacy and local documentation skills
3. supporting and developing national language policy
4. supporting and developing educational policy
5. improving living conditions and respect for the human rights of speaker communities."

3.2.3 - language planning and education

Another feature that may encourage both speakers and learners is the status of the minority language. Official recognition is often sought after for both practical and psychological reasons, or, as expressed by Fishman (1974b: 92), "both instrumental and sentimental societal goals." As mentioned previously, official status is not a guarantee of maintenance and growth. Official status of multiple languages is also not common: although the extent of bilingualism and multilingualism is shown by the existence of some 5,000

languages spoken in about 200 countries, "only a quarter of all states recognise more than one language" (J. Edwards 1994: 1). Although status is often a large part of public campaigning for language revitalisation, it is only one aspect of an ongoing process of language planning. Unfortunately for Gaelic and many other minority languages, "further progress is being quantitatively and qualitatively restrained by lack of resources, lack of focus and lack of language planning" (Scottish Executive 2000: 8). Language planning can provide both structure and support, but requires far-reaching policy and significant cooperation between speakers, linguists, and politicians.

Inadequate, ill-advised, or tokenistic language planning can be more harmful to a language than benign neglect. If the public, including both speakers of the minority language and non-speakers, feels that the government has taken over the role of supporting and maintaining the language, they may feel absolved of any personal responsibility for action. A sense of complacency resulting from implied or actual government planning can be detrimental for similar reasons. In many cases, pro-active steps must be taken in order to hold public interest and garner support. Policies must be well-informed and well-researched, and open to feedback from the community. Such policies must be grounded in reality and acceptable to a majority in order to be successful. Unfortunately, minority-language speakers are often not involved in these efforts, even in "first world" countries: "Relatively few speakers of Britain's minority languages have hitherto gained access to circles where academic research on bilingualism and literacy is conducted" (Martin-Jones & Jones 2000b: 13). Some of these challenges are due to the newness of the discipline, with Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: x) noting the appearance of interest in language planning in the 1960s, with a rise in awareness from the late 1970s.

Language planning can be divided into separate but overlapping domains. Baker (2006: 50) defines these as

> -status planning (e.g. raising the status of a language within society across as many language domain institutions as possible),

-corpus planning (e.g. modernising terminology, standardisation of grammar and spelling),
-and acquisition planning (creating language spread by increasing the number of speakers and uses by, for example, interventions with parents, health visitors, midwives, language learning in school, adult language, literacy).

These three types of planning are most effective when implemented as part of an overall scheme, but are often seen separately or as the domain of different organisations, thus limiting their impact. In terms of the process of language planning, Ferguson (1988: 13) mentions Rubin's ((1971); (1977)) procedural phases: a fact-finding stage, a policy determination stage, an implementation stage, and an evaluation stage, although they need not necessarily occur in that linear sequence. Baker (2003b: 103) elaborates on these phases with a description of target language planning, which should involve

1. a clear overall conceptualisation of language planning (e.g. status, corpus, acquisition and opportunity/incentive planning);
2. the setting of realisable and sustainable targets that are
3. prioritised and
4. monitored for their completion, effectiveness and outcomes.

However, it is rare to find all of these aims addressed by those directing language planning initiatives; such under-performance may be due to a lack of commitment, personnel, information, or resources.

Among the more controversial aspects of language planning are features such as educational policies and economic regeneration, which creates jobs where minority-language speakers can stay in their community and benefit professionally and financially from using their language. Other factors affecting language maintenance that should be addressed in language planning include the level of standardisation and of literacy (Baker 2006: 51-2); "minority language literacy gives that language increased functions, usage and status... [and] helps standardize a minority language" (*ibid.* 328). Even the best intentions can be confounded by such features:

> the implementation of the policy, however, no matter what the national priorities may be, can be hampered by economic and social forces within the country, the lack of educational facilities, the degree

> of literacy and, above all, by the languages themselves, their number, status, similarity and standardisation (Mackey 1984: 175-6).

However, because official policies are generally only effective on the macro-level, these four characteristics recur across many language-planning situations.

Standardisation is essential if a minority language is to be used in official contexts, such as road signs and the media, and education. Davies (1991: 59) states that

> the value of the standard language then is that it makes for efficiency, it provides for intelligibility and it avoids uncertainty – what to use in which context and how to spell or say it.

Standardisation can involve script, orthography, grammar, and other linguistic features. The process often involves making somewhat arbitrary choices between existing variants or creating new forms. "Intellectualisation" can affect both lexicon and grammar and is intended to increase precision and accuracy (Garvin 1974: 72). Intellectualisation is also linked to modernisation. These processes have the goal of raising the status of a language, and, in the case of a minority language, of allowing more successful competition with the dominant language.

Simplification may be a part of standardisation. While simplification can affect any aspect of the language, official reforms must commonly alter the orthography. The deletion of silent letters is a prime example, as in the Irish *Caighdeán* (1958: 106). Simplification is also a natural process in language change and may occur spontaneously without imposed rules, as with reduction in verb forms or noun cases. Another type of simplification related to standardisation is minimising variation between dialectal forms. While simplification is not always concerned with dialect levelling, one code, register, or regional variety is often selected as the standard. Reasons for this selection may include prestige, political or economic power, demographic size, or historical rationale. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 221) suggest that the

"metropolitan model" is considered the most correct, with influences from the nation's capital, charismatic individuals, and extent of dissemination. Parisian French became the standard as Paris rose in importance; Standard Irish was created as an amalgam of the main dialects to be used in the schools.

An "Academy" may be responsible for language change, or the task may fall under the jurisdiction of the government, but ideally linguists and literary figures who are familiar with the amount of variety in the language are involved. Unfortunately, as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 8) mention,

> in some cases, the entire burden of planning language change has been allocated to the education ministry without reference to the fact that the education ministry does not have the scope, the resources or the authority to influence language use to any extent beyond the education sector.

In terms of spreading changes introduced as part of language planning, "media can help disseminate a standard form of the language and also promotes new and technical vocabulary" (Baker 2006: 428). Like any officially mandated change, standardisation may not be adopted by all speakers. Fishman (1974c: 1974) describes two possible reactions of the public:

> Some members of some target populations doubtlessly adopt academy-produced and academy-sponsored neologisms and use them exclusively thereafter for particular referents; others reject all such creations with particular glee and steadfastness.

Language standardisation is never complete (either in societies or in individuals) and, as with dominant languages, no one speaks or writes a standard form perfectly.

Economic regeneration is another way that language planning attempts to encourage speakers to continue using the language. According to V. Edwards (2003: 152), "most initiatives designed to preserve minority languages in fact have economic benefits." Most minority languages are strongest in poor rural areas, which may be geographically isolated. Young speakers want to learn the dominant language, as it is considered more economically viable, and

tend to migrate out of the region in order to pursue jobs. As Comunn na Gàidhlig pointed out in 1984, "throughout history there is a considerable evidence of co-incidence between the linguistic decay and the social and economic disintegration of communities" (quoted in James 1984: 48).

The outmigration of the younger generation leads to an age-skewed population of language speakers. Older speakers, including grandparents and parents, stay in the area and speak the minority language while their grandchildren and children leave speaking only the dominant language. Fishman's crucial intergenerational transmission is thus disrupted, leading to language loss. This demographic trend toward only older native speakers can be seen in the Celtic languages and in many Native American languages, as well as minority languages throughout Africa, India, and Australasia. In order to promote bilingualism, a growth of ethnic businesses and language minority businesses is necessary (Baker 2006: 434) as part of economic regeneration. Skills in the minority language must be seen as an economic and social advantage rather than a disadvantage. One of the reasons behind the relative success of the Welsh language revitalisation is that the ability to speak Welsh is perceived as a benefit by potential employers (*ibid.* 53). The concept of a "Gaelic economy" has been discussed by MacNeil and Beaton (1994) and further elaborated by McLeod (2002b: 2), who claims this economy, although employing almost 1000 people, is over-reliant on public funding and is not in fact sustaining Gaelic use in any meaningful sense.

In minority language revitalisation efforts, the education system is frequently used to provide linguistic skills where transmission in the home is no longer common or effective. This situation is summarised by Cummins (2003: 63):

> One of the most strongly established findings of educational research, conducted in many countries around the world, is that well-implemented bilingual programmes can promote literacy and subject matter knowledge in a minority language without any negative effects on children's development in the majority language.

Unfortunately, immersion and bilingual education cannot replace the intensive exposure to language found in the home. Language development often lags behind that of native speakers and may never reach the same level. Additionally, the language spoken in schools may differ from the home or community language in terms of the richness in registers, tone, idiom, and usage, leaving children with a partial or skewed ability in the language.

Many parents put perhaps too much faith in the education system as a method of making their children fluent and literate speakers. As Ó Riagáin (1985: 13) cautions in respect to the Irish situation, "the presence of a certain tension between what the public appear to demand of the schools and what the teachers think is possible cannot be ignored." One of the many challenges often faced by teachers is a lack of training and a lack of resources, making it very difficult for the curriculum to be effective (Crystal 2000: 137), or, as identified by Mackey (1984: 160), "for the viability of a bilingual policy, what may be most crucial is the presence or absence of educational facilities – schools, books, and teachers." Politics also plays a critical role in the success of minority-language education, since educational agendas are usually set by the government. Although public goodwill or the lack thereof is often mentioned in regard to apparent failures in the education system, these other factors have a greater impact.

Education, economics, and standardisation have all played major roles in the revitalisation of the Celtic languages. Helen Ó Murchú (1999: 3) summarises the Irish situation as follows:

> as a result of the State's language policies, the population of active Irish-speakers has constantly been renewed through the induction of school-produced bilinguals; a degree of literacy in Irish has been disseminated throughout the community, thus allowing a wider use of Irish as an official and formal medium; there has been a reasonably high level of corpus planning and publication; and the function of Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity has been sustained through a century of sweeping economic and demographic change.

These results can be anticipated in the five reasons proposed for reviving the Irish language: "its moral contribution to native self-respect, its intellectual value, its social concomitants, its economic benefits and, finally, its psychological significance (i.e., its status as a marker of national growth and independence)" (J. Edwards 1994: 122). One of the major differences between the Irish and Scottish Gaelic situations is the official status of the languages and the role that they play in government activity. However, Cooper (1989: 101) cautions that it is more profitable to look to the "symbolic uses of a statutory language rather than to its immediate practical value" when considering status.

The public perception of a language is thus a crucial factor in language planning and revitalisation efforts. Regardless of government-provided funding and endorsements from linguists, a language will not be spoken unless it is perceived as valuable and useful. Minority languages therefore face the challenge of competing with major world languages for domains of use. Although the use of languages is often presented as an either/or choice, promoting bilingualism and multilingualism would permit more languages to flourish.

Chapter 4: BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY

4.1 - bilingualism

The recent growth in minority language education and bilingual programmes largely the result of a significant change in attitudes toward bilingualism over the last fifty years. While once considered to be detrimental to a child's intelligence, development, and even health, bilingualism is now recognised as having specific cognitive as well as social advantages. Mastery of multiple languages is now viewed as a valuable skill, due in part to improvements in the cost and ease of travel and the expansion of the European Union. The range of language ability among bilingual and multilingual speakers is wide, with some individuals having only limited fluency in their additional languages, and has important ramifications for how they are perceived. A historical review of the research findings on bilingualism and biliteracy and how these findings have affected attitudes is important in order to understand how and why national policies have changed.

4.1.1 - changing attitudes to bilingualism

In 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Meyer v. Nebraska* held that "proficiency in a foreign language was 'not injurious to the health, morals, or understanding of the ordinary child'" (Baker 2006: 191). Nevertheless, debates over bilingual education and rights still continue both in America and worldwide nearly a century later. The monolingual standard that is prevalent in many "first world" countries tends to regard bilingualism and multilingualism as a disadvantage, although some scholars estimate that over half of the world's population is bilingual (e.g. Romaine 1995: 8). This attitude may be due in part to those who believe in the "container hypothesis", which proposes that the human brain has an allotted space for language, and therefore the more languages learnt the smaller space for each (*ibid.* 263). Rather than viewing bilingualism as representing increased language ability, this view claims that the speaker is in fact semi-lingual. In a review of the

effects of the bilingualism, Oller and Pearson (2002: 5) note that "the claim that bilingual children of many language backgrounds show academic or intellectual deficiencies was widespread through most of the 20th century."

Many of the supposed problems associated with bilingualism were in fact caused by confounding factors in the research studies, such as the language used for testing, variations in socio-economic status and quality of education, and different cultural values. J. Edwards (1994: 57) lists the following factors as "potentially confounding" test results: attitude, age, sex, intelligence, memory, linguistic distance between the two languages, and context of testing. The prevailing attitude toward bilingualism was the greatest obstacle to objective assessment of its effects on cognition. Baker (1988: 45) points out that "prejudice, innuendo and guesswork often form the basis of public pronouncement" on bilingual education. He further summarises the "history of research which has examined a link between bilingualism and intelligence" as three overlapping periods: "the period of detrimental effects, the period of neutral effects, and the period of additive effects" (*ibid.* 9). As bilingualism came to be viewed as less of an obstacle, the repercussions were widespread.

In papers from the 1960's onwards, the following advantages of bilingualism were beginning to be recognised:

- "greater mental flexibility; the ability to think more abstractly, more independently of words, providing superiority in concept formation; the development of IQ; positive transfer between a bilingual's two languages" (Peal & Lambert (1962) quoted in Baker 2006: 148-9);
- "apparent transfer of reading skills from one language to the other; the availability of concepts acquired in one language for discussion through the other; and even enhanced 'creativity,' 'flexibility' and 'language curiosity'" (Mitchell 1978: 8);
- "ability to analyse and become aware of language; overall academic language skills (for example, reading and writing); general conceptual development; creative thinking; and sensitivity to communicative needs of the listener" (Cummins 1981: 22);
- "greater ability in reconstructing perceptual situations; superior results on verbal and non-verbal intelligence, verbal originality

and verbal divergence tests; a greater sensitivity to semantic relations between words; higher scores on Piagetian concept-formation tasks; and better performance in rule-discovery tasks" (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 49);

- "learning other languages improves general cognitive and metacognitive skills, reinforces understanding of one's mother tongue, strengthens reading and writing, and develops general communication skills... gives pupils a head start with languages, may lead to greater proficiency and accuracy in speaking, reading, writing and understanding, and develops meta-linguistic skills which are the foundations for easier language learning in later life" (European Commission 2004: 44, 46).

The majority of these findings are replicated through continued research and experimental studies, and this is certainly not an exhaustive list. Even viewed sceptically, such advantages are a formidable argument for supporting the development of bilingualism in children.

Only individuals whose language abilities are relatively balanced are able to profit from bilingualism. If a child's burgeoning bilingual skills are devalued, discouraged, and repressed, the advantages listed above are unlikely to develop. Williams and Snipper (1990: 55) make this point clear:

> Proficient bilinguals who had attained the highest threshold levels of bilingual proficiency [including biliteracy] showed positive cognitive effects; limited bilinguals, weak in both native and second language, showed negative cognitive effects.

Romaine (1995: 266) summarises Cummins' (1979) threshold hypothesis as indicating that "different types of bilingualism will reflect differences in cognitive development according to the threshold of competence reached." Sociolinguist Lo Bianco (2001: 21) recommends the development of the two languages to "literate mastery" in order to reap the full benefits. If languages are supported both at home and in the school, children are more likely to attain balanced bilingualism.

Fortunately for children, parents, and teachers, the likelihood of transfer of skills and knowledge between and across languages is high, particularly when both languages are cultivated. The phenomenon of language

transfer allows for much greater flexibility in both formal and informal education. There are several other factors that determine the abilities of the bilingual child, including among others "years of exposure to a language(s), amount of language input at home and at school, and amount of exposure to reading and other literacy activities in a language(s)" (Gutiérrez-Clellen & Kreiter 2003: 267). Oller and Pearson (2002: 8) suggest that social advantages may influence the results of a child being bilingual, with high advantages corresponding to positive effects and vice versa; such a relationship can be seen in the relative performance of pupils who learn another language by choice as a foreign language for enrichment versus those who must adopt another language due to circumstances such as emigration.

4.1.2 - types of bilingualism

The type of bilingualism is the best predictor of its effects on the speaker, as it is usually not feasible for individual analyses to be carried out. Typology of bilingualism is usually organised into dichotomies, which may discount the specific effects associated with multilingualism. Simultaneous versus sequential or successive bilingualism refers to the age at which the two languages are acquired. Linguists disagree on what simultaneous acquisition entails: McLaughlin (1978) consider up to three years of age as an arbitrary cut-off point for determining native speaker status while Padilla and Lindholm (1984) only consider the child to be a bilingual native speaker if both languages were present from birth (quoted in Romaine 1995: 181). In many ways, the term "native speaker" is not a helpful term. As Davies (1991: 8) points out, "the native speaker boundary is... one as much created by non-native speakers as by native speakers themselves."

Lenneberg's (1967) "critical period" hypothesis for learning language (that the onset of puberty signals a sharp decline in the ability to learn languages successfully) has not been conclusively proven. Adults and children have different advantages when it comes to learning languages, although in general simultaneous bilinguals perform better than successive or sequential

bilinguals. This distinction may also be referred to as compound versus coordinate bilingualism, indicating perhaps a neurological difference in how language works (Weinrich (1968) quoted in Romaine 1995: 78-83). In terms of how well one acquires another language, the consensus is that "while length of exposure influences fluency, starting age affects accuracy" (Davies 1991: 81). This feature of language learning can be used as an argument for the timing of the introduction of foreign languages in schools.

Another dichotomy is that of additive versus subtractive bilingualism. In additive bilingualism, the learning of another language has positive effects on the child's (or adult's) academic performance, and both languages are valued. Programmes that support additive bilingualism aim at "building on students' native language rather than at eradicating it" (Williams & Snipper 1990: 60). Such is the case in so-called "elite" bilingualism, where pupils learn a foreign language which is a prestigious world language in primary and secondary school; the usual choices in the European and North American contexts include English, French, Spanish, and German. In much of the developed and developing world, English is actively pursued as a second or additional language since it has become the *lingua franca* of tourism and commerce and thus the key to greater economic opportunity. Subtractive bilingualism is often the result when a child enters the school system speaking a minority or community language. This native language is then replaced by the dominant language; the first language is often devalued and is not developed further. Only additive bilingualism confers cognitive advantages.

Many factors can complicate these simple distinctions between types of bilingualism, and the constructs of the dichotomies themselves may discount multilingualism. Potentially confounding factors include the language background and ability of the parents, the status of the two languages in the surrounding community, the levels of literacy in the languages, the education system, and so forth. The perceived difficulty of the languages in question is *not* a factor, despite popular belief, as linguists have shown that within a

supportive environment a child learns any language with equal ease (Romaine (1995) *inter alia*). However, in successive bilingualism, relative distance between languages can have an effect: a Norwegian child transferring to a Swedish school would have a much easier time than a Finnish child would. To review, Hamers and Blanc (1989: 8) list the following dimensions of bilingualism: relative competence [whether a bilingual is "balanced"], cognitive organisation [compound or coordinated], age of acquisition [simultaneous v. successive], exogeniety [languages in the community], social cultural status and cultural identity.

4.1.3 - supporting bilingualism in children

Given the advantages of encouraging bilingualism in children, it is necessary to consider the best ways of supporting its development. One very popular theory is known as Grammont's Principle (Grammont (1902)), or more colloquially, "one language = one person". This principle advocates the consistent use of language with the child, and in practice usually means each parent speaks one language to the child, and one of these or a third language is chosen to communicate with each other. The intention is to avoid the possibility of a mixture of languages hindering acquisition through confusion and interference (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 37-8). However, bilingual children learn from a very young age which language to use with which interlocutor, even before they are aware that they command two different codes (Genesee 2003: 217).

Another common manifestation of Grammont's Principle occurs when one language, usually the minority language, is used at home and another is used in the school and community. The concern with this approach is that the child may be more likely to abandon the minority language in favour of the dominant majority language. Parental support can help the child maintain the home language and also supports the child's psychological development (Baker 2000a: 114). It is important to keep in mind that because the bilingual child "may receive less exposure to each language, more time may be required to

achieve a similar level [of competence] to that of the monolingual child" (Arnberg 1987: 26). Plateaus and apparent regressions are common in bilingual children's development, including the child refusing to speak one of his or her languages. Such stages are natural as the child sorts out the two codes. The passive knowledge that the child acquires by hearing the language is still valuable even if he or she is not speaking it. What is optimal for the child is "a supportive, natural, language-rich environment, affording acceptance and meaningful interactions" (Soto 1991: 31).

The child's bilingual development is further supported by the high level of transfer between languages. This feature accounts for the widely attested phenomenon of each additional language learned becoming easier. Therefore, even though a strong first language helps the progress of a strong second language, the second language may be introduced before the first is fully developed without negative effects (Hornberger 2003a: 23). In learning a second language (that is, for successive bilingualism), interlanguage has an important role. The concept of interlanguage was introduced by Ellis in the 1980s to explain the "errors" made by learners. He claimed that these errors were the result of the learner forming an idiosyncratic system that approximates neither the L1 nor the L2, but moves gradually from one to the other as the learner becomes more fluent. The three major features of interlanguage are that it is "permeable, dynamic, and systematic" (Ellis 1989: 50-5 quoted in Owens 1992: 25). The former notion of interference has thus given way to transfer as discussed above (Hornberger 2003a: 19).

4.1.4 - the advantages of bilingualism

Positive transfer between languages applies to written as well as spoken language, according to work done by Mayor (1994: 82). Biliteracy confers even greater advantages than situations in which neither or only one language is developed to literacy. Indeed, literacy may be the condition that determines whether cognitive advantages are realised (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 55). These advantages are generally related to academic rather than social skills, thus

further demonstrating Cummins' (1984) distinction between BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency). A child needs only BICS, or surface fluency, to be able to communicate with peers and with the teacher, but CALP is necessary for decontextualised academic tasks such as reading. Cummins suggests that for the child's second language "it may take between five and seven years to acquire the full range of skills needed to cope with literacy and language in context-reduced situations" (quoted in Robson 1995: 32). This difference also accounts for teachers' confusion when children are able to function on the playground but perform poorly on tests and other written assessments. Bialystok (1991: 130) attributes this disparity to the necessity of a reader having "conceptions of a second language that are more organised and more explicit than are the conceptions of a language needed for conversation."

At the same time, the improved metalinguistic awareness that bilingualism brings may mean that bilinguals will be ready to learn to read "slightly earlier" than monolinguals (Baker 2006: 158). Recognition of the unique situation of bilinguals requires a broad perspective. García (2000: 814) sums up Hornberger's arguments for the support of biliterate development along three continua:

> the macro-micro continuum (political and economic factors that support or detract from the development and acceptance of biliteracy), the monolingual-bilingual continuum (the use of both languages in school and societal contexts), and the oral-literate continuum (the use and support of oral and written language by the school and community).

Primary school teachers are often unaware of these various factors affecting language use and the influence that such factors may have on their pupils, even if a course on bilingualism was included as part of their teacher training.

Bilingualism can have definite advantages for the individual: Cummins (2000: 203) refers to the "close to 150 research studies carried out since the early 1960s that report significant advantages for bilingual students on a

variety of metalinguistic and cognitive tasks." Bilingualism can also be beneficial to society. Baker describes bilingualism as a "marketable ability" that can be used to foster relationships between different societies (2006: 425). For these reasons, Lambert argues that "minority-language groups should be encouraged from as many sources as possible to maintain their dual heritage" (quoted in Cummins 1981: 16). In order for minority languages to survive in an increasingly homogeneous world, bilingualism is becoming a social necessity. Bilingualism is also widespread: according to Tucker (1996), "more children in the world are bilingual than monolingual, and more children are being educated bilingually or in a second language than only in their mother tongue" (quoted in Kenner & Gregory 2003: 178). Even in predominantly monolingual Europe, 43% of primary pupils are learning an additional language (European Commission 2004: 46).

Given the advantages accruing to bilinguals and the large number of children who enter the education system speaking multiple languages, the continuing development of bilingual education worldwide is a sociolinguistic imperative. Baker (2001: 369) summarises the benefits of bilingual education, particularly for minority languages: "high achievement across the curriculum for minority language children; maintaining the home language and culture; fostering self-esteem, self-identity and a more positive attitude to schooling." Developing bilingualism and biliteracy is also recommended for majority group pupils; neither group appears to be disadvantaged in the majority language if they are in enrichment or immersion programmes (Bialystok & Cummins 1991: 226). This research finding indicates continued concern about the potential detrimental effects of bilingualism as discussed in section 4.1.1.

4.2 - academic performance

One of the primary goals for literacy acquisition is to enable children to learn through reading at school. While literacy is also a social skill, it is in the school context that literacy is most essential, particularly for children. Reading forms the basis for the majority of academic activity as children not only learn

to read, but also learn other subjects *through* reading (Harklau 2002: 336). Weakness or failure in reading is most apparent at school. If reading "takes place in a weak language or depends on compromised skills," lasting consequences for the child's education will result (Bialystok 2001: 174). Once schooling is completed, functional illiteracy can be concealed in a variety of ways, for example by using picture cues while shopping, familiarity with menu items when ordering in a restaurant, or through enlisting others for help in reading letters or filling out forms.

Although most children learn to read and write at school, there are several significant predictors of success in literacy, including such factors as the role of reading in the home, the parents' attitude toward schooling, and knowledge of letter names before entering school. Reading in an additional language can further complicate matters, although much depends upon the linguistic and social relationships between the languages. Although literacy is only one component of academic performance, the successful acquisition of reading and writing skills has a greater impact on subsequent schooling than any other component.

4.2.1 - the role of literacy

The child who struggles with literacy is faced with multiple challenges at school. There is plentiful evidence that the skills of reading and writing provide positive transfer to other areas of academic achievement (e.g. Titone (1989); Johnstone (1994a); Bialystok (2001)). Even though subjects such as the physical sciences and mathematics have a focus tangential to literacy, reading and writing still must be used; word problems, instructions for experiments, and general descriptions all require reading skills. In Western culture, literacy thus permeates the entire curriculum, and the curriculum is in fact dependent on literacy.

In primary schools, some variation in ability is expected and accounted for with flexibility of tasks and with teacher support. Weak literacy skills may

go unnoticed for some time in schools that utilise teaching styles that emphasise oral lessons or hands-on activities rather than text-based learning. By the end of primary school, all pupils are expected to be able to read fluently and independently for content as well as meaning. Such skills are explicitly defined in Scotland's National Guidelines for primary education:

> Pupils will read to find and handle information for a range of purposes; and will read, on occasion aloud, to enjoy and respond to a variety of texts; in so doing, they will achieve an awareness of genre and knowledge about language (Scottish Office Education Department 1993: 11).

Literacy as the crux of the curriculum is further demonstrated by the academic difficulties encountered by children with literacy-specific learning disorders such as dyslexia. These children may have above-average intelligence but be unable to perform "literate" tasks, leading to underperformance in many subject areas. At the same time, as Goodman *et al.* (1979: 35) emphasise,

> literacy can only be relevant and functional in the context of a relevant and functional curriculum. Such a curriculum allows for the cultural acquisition of literacy and biliteracy by building on what learners know, their language, culture, interests, and common experiences.

Yet, regardless of the quality and quantity of education, school literacy is only a foundation; "schools are unable to encompass or anticipate all future uses of literacy" (Heywood 2000: 14).

The purposes for which reading will eventually be used by children will differ depending on a variety of factors, only some of which are foreseeable during schooling. It is therefore "important for teachers to be aware of different literary practices in different cultures" (Datta 2000: 20), as well as in different professions. Multi-cultural awareness on the part of teachers can lead to a greater understanding of the specific challenges and strengths of their pupils. The statutory education system should attempt to give all children equal opportunity to develop their literacy to the fullest extent possible. Literacy (and numeracy, although not considered here in detail) is a life skill, and the

foundations that are set in the early stages of school, and even before school, as considered below, can have a significant impact on eventual achievement.

4.2.2 – predictors of success in literacy

One predominant factor in determining a child's success in school literacy is his or her exposure to literacy in the home. According to Wells, "early pre-literary experiences and exposure to print in the home d[o] correlate with school progress" (quoted in Beveridge & Reddiford 1993: 44). Leseman and de Jong (1998: 294) further emphasise this correlation in the following areas: "phonemic skills, print concept knowledge, familiarity with decontextualised use of language, and positive attitudes toward literacy." Garton and Pratt (1998: 223) further elaborate on the variety of concepts about print that are a necessary precursor to reading: the orientation of the book, directional rules, print as a message carrier, concepts of letters and words, and punctuation. While knowledge of these concepts will be enhanced by schooling, the basic concepts can be learned very early.

As demonstrated by Heath's famous Trackton/Roadville study (1983), children's backgrounds in oral and written language vary widely. In some homes, books are readily available to be shared with parents or siblings; writing is used for a variety of purposes; and reading is often modelled by other family members, for example by consulting a television schedule or cookbook, or reading a newspaper or a novel. In other homes, the use of reading and writing is minimal and the sharing of a textual story is rare. Parents use literacy in a multitude of different ways depending upon factors such as "their education, jobs, social networks, associated traditions, and their community and religious involvement" (Leseman & de Jong 1998: 299). Therefore, one of the primary teacher's responsibilities is to support and encourage literacy in the home in whatever form it takes. Involving parents in their children's education can have a significant impact on academic success.

Some children have the benefit of direct interaction with adults that involves literacy, for example through storybook reading. This kind of experience is "primary in influencing children's literate language and school-based literacy" (Pellegrini 1996: 6) as well as positively affecting children's attitudes regarding reading (Galda *et al.* 2000: 369). School experience cannot recreate the advantages of children raised in a literate environment, due to the continuous and intensive exposure that some children have to books through parents or siblings reading to them. Similarly, some children are already familiar with letter names and have begun to experiment with writing before attending school, while others may not know which way to orient a book. Most researchers and educators, therefore, would disagree with Cairney's claim that "differences in school literacy achievement are not due to differences in the volume of preschool or home literacy experiences" (2003: 89). It is true that volume in and of itself is not beneficial; the shared experience of books is. The child's exposure to books must be meaningful. The most common form in Western cultures is the reading of a nightly bedtime story, although many other possibilities exist, ranging from reading out billboards on a car trip to composing a letter to grandparents. Pre-school differences can have a lasting effect on children's later scholastic success, most obviously that relating to formal reading instruction (M. Adams (1990)).

A plethora of research evidence supports the specific advantages that a literate environment confers on children. Leseman and de Jong (1998: 294) summarise these advantages: "Associations have been found between book reading at home and, for example, phonemic skills, print concept knowledge, familiarity with decontextualised use of language, and positive attitudes toward literacy." While some of the benefits are focused on the early stages, others, particularly the attitude toward literacy, have an effect through schooling and beyond. Such metalinguistic awareness "has an important role to play in the development of literacy" (Garton & Pratt 1998: 259). Although the value of exposure to literate behaviour in learning to read has been recognised for some time, with Ruddell and Ruddell (1994: 93) citing sources as early as 1966,

encouraging literacy in the home is often considered merely an adjunct to a school literacy programme. Given the "head start" that reading aloud provides, its importance should not be underestimated. The benefits of book reading activities can continue in the school setting, although with less of an impact on children's development.

Oral development is also essential to success in learning to read. In particular, a child's vocabulary is correlated with his or her reading development. The vocabulary at age four predicts vocabulary, word decoding, and reading comprehension at age seven (Leseman & de Jong 1998: 310); this correlation remains "sizeable throughout development" (Stanovich 2000: 182). One aspect of vocabulary development that neither of these studies mentions, however, is the extent to which the size of a child's vocabulary is influenced by the amount of reading taking place. It is very likely that the two features are interrelated and synergistic. Another aspect of oral development is in the awareness of and ability to rhyme, often manifested in the knowledge of nursery rhymes; this knowledge "has been positively linked to later reading ability" (Garton & Pratt 1998: 8).

Research suggests that readers who are slow to begin reading for a variety of reasons will fall further and further behind (Garton & Pratt 1998: 258). This trend means that pupils struggling with literacy acquisition must be identified and provided with special assistance as soon as possible. "Early Intervention" programmes are one way of confronting this challenge. Pupil motivation is also vital in the early stages of literacy development, although the description of literacy as a life skill is not likely to be a convincing argument for young children. Peer influence should also be considered as a factor in success, and encouraging friendly competition through letter-identification games or lists of books read can be beneficial. K. Hall (2003: 316) describes effective literacy teachers as achieving "the integration and balancing of the learning of the codes of written language with uses and purposes of literacy that are meaningful to the learner." In this way, pupils who come to school

with varying degrees of predilection toward learning to read will progress at different but suitable individual rates.

4.2.3 – reading in a second or additional language

The problems associated with the development of reading in a second language differ in some important ways from those of reading in a first language. For example, children experiencing difficulty reading may not have sufficient fluency in the second language to acquire literacy rather than problems with reading in general, such as a lack of understanding of sound-symbol correspondence or a mental difficulty such as dyslexia. One indicator is the child's exposure to and ability in his or her two (or more) languages. Variations in ability relate to the uses of literacy in the home as discussed above in section 4.2.2. As Lado (1975) claimed, "every child who is a potential bilingual is also a potential biliterate" (quoted in Verhoeven 1987: 9). In bilingual and immersion classrooms differences in pupils' exposure to the second language orally and in print can be quite noticeable, and often reflects considerable variation in the parents' ability to speak and read either language.

The concept of transfer between languages discussed in section 4.1.1 applies to reading and writing as well as to speaking and listening. Literacy skills learnt in one language, such as decoding print and inferring underlying concepts, transfer readily to the other language, although features such as script and directionality may differ radically. Transfer as a result of the degree of relatedness between languages is therefore more apparent in literacy transfer than in speech. Yet a child knowing that print of whatever kind carries meaning is an important precondition for reading, and this knowledge applies to any and all languages; the successive bilingual child therefore does not start from scratch when learning to read in a second or additional language. According to Bialystok (2002: 186), "if children can establish basic concepts of phonological awareness in any language, then reading will be facilitated irrespective of the language in which initial literacy instruction occurs."

Another aspect of biliteracy is that for those children who learn a second or additional language at school, "much of their lexicon and knowledge of complex grammatical structure" is acquired through written language (Harklau 2002: 339). There is simply not enough time for classroom talk to represent a full range of language use. Reading a wide range of materials helps to expose the child to additional vocabulary, styles, and registers. In addition, spoken language and written language vary in significant ways. Certain formal structures are inappropriate in speech: with the exception of dialogue or colloquial writing, many spoken utterances do not translate well into writing. Reading and writing therefore expand the child's range of linguistic knowledge. Literacy thus may be an even more important learning tool for bilinguals and multilinguals than for monolinguals. Titone (1989: 261) mentions "the possible positive effects of early reading and early bilingual literacy upon intellectual growth and general education"; he also claims that "early *bilingual* reading ability should have a strong impact upon the child's cognitive and linguistic growth" (*ibid.* 263).

4.2.3.1 - developing biliteracy

Many bilingual children do not have the opportunity to develop both their languages to oral and written fluency through formal schooling, although they may become biliterate through transfer, through extracurricular activities such as religious training, or through parental efforts. The challenges of a bilingual child learning to read only in his or her weaker language, for example as takes place in submersion education, are numerous, but will not be discussed here as the focus is on the acquisition of biliteracy. Minority language literacy should not be tokenistic: if a child is taught to read in a minority language, but that language is subsequently used only orally and informally while all practical work is based on dominant-language texts, that child receives a mixed message about the usage and value of the minority language. Balanced biliteracy should be the ultimate goal: "since literacy emancipates, enculturates, educates, and is inherently enjoyable, there seems

to be a strong argument for biliteracy" (Baker 2000b: 117). The specifics of teaching techniques will be discussed in the following section (section 4.2.4). There are several background factors that also affect the child's development.

The child's pre-school experiences, literate and otherwise, can influence his or her success academically, particularly for children who are bi- or multi-cultural. In order for a task or text to be meaningful for a child the activity must be relevant to the child's world knowledge, as beginning readers rely heavily on context. The relevance factor seems to be especially important for bilinguals, who use the "construction of meaning" approach as their main motivation for reading (Datta (2000)). Extracurricular factors can also affect the acquisition of literacy in two languages, including "sociocultural variables such as motivation to maintain and develop literacy skills" (Cummins 1991: 80). While one of the goals of primary education is to expand general as well as specific knowledge by exposing the child to a variety of experiences, early school activities must be centred on pre-established concepts or the child's conceptual framework in order to be meaningful to the child. According to research done by V. Edwards (1983: 103), using culturally relevant materials has "a positive effect on children's reading achievement."

Bilingual and minority-language education do more than foster children's language development and preserve languages. These methods can also improve self-esteem and attitude toward schooling (Baker 2006: 255). Nevertheless, the additional challenges of learning to read in a second language must be acknowledged and sufficient suitable support provided. The child must be supported not only academically but also culturally and psychologically. Particularly in minority language contexts, it is important that the goal of language maintenance is not allowed to supersede the needs of the child; too great an emphasis on use of the second language in immersion education may lead to a child who lacks confidence in both of his or her languages.

The cause for apparent failure by a bilingual pupil must also be investigated, as the problem may not originate within the child but

> in the *standard of education.* A child may be struggling in the classroom due to poor teaching methods, a non-motivating, even hostile, classroom environment, a dearth of suitable teaching materials, or clashes with the teacher (Baker 2006: 357).

Children who struggle with reading from the beginning can easily become disillusioned and disappointed. Tailoring the reading programme to individual ability and ensuring early success is beneficial as these adjustments can "maintain pupils' motivation, self-esteem and positive attitudes to reading" (HM Inspectors of Schools 1998: 19).

The attitude of the school and individual teacher toward reading will have a significant influence on the attitudes of the children themselves as well as on their potential success. Even the terminology used in discussing literacy acquisition can have an impact; many educators are moving from "pre-literacy" to "emergent literacy", a term first used by Clay (1966) to indicate that much of the behaviour of children who are not reading according to adult definitions is in fact preparation for fluent adult literacy. This behaviour is much like the oral interlanguage used by language learners. Such "emergent literacy" should be encouraged, as it "prepares the children for the literacy demands of later life and equally importantly, helps children come to terms with the print environment in which they live" (Campbell 1996: 62 quoted in David *et al.* 2000: 54). The children's skills at each level of development should be acknowledged as important stages in the acquisition of reading.

The teacher of children learning a second language, whether in an immersion context or as part of a mainstream classroom, must be especially aware of the ways in which second language readers differ from first language pupils. Each pupil's individual background must also be taken into consideration. Oral fluency can have a significant impact on how difficult a child may find it to read, although Edelsky (1999) points out that one of the fallacies about literacy learning in bilingual contexts is that "oral proficiency

precedes literacy learning," a fallacy "derived from the adaptation of beliefs common in monolingual settings" (quoted in Ní Bhaoill 2004: 10). In order for phonological awareness and therefore sound-symbol correspondences to be established, and of course for meaning to be comprehended, the child must have a suitable grasp of the phonology and semantics of the second language, but does not need to be fully fluent. Although university students studying the classics or philosophy can have a reading knowledge of a language such as Latin, German, or French without having productive oral or written skills, pronunciation is more of a cue for beginning readers than for those already having fluent reading ability in another language (Garton & Pratt 1998: 241).

One of the most profitable values of learning to read in a second language is the effect that positive transfer has on the child's first language and vice versa. Many of the supraskills learnt, such as that writing is a code depicting speech, that print differs from pictures, that texts are invariable, and so on, transfer quite easily between languages, particularly those with similar writing systems (that is, alphabetic v. syllabic or logographic, left-to-right or other orientations). With minority languages, "it is thought that there is a greater chance of this [transfer] taking place from a minority language to a majority language" (Ní Bhaoill 2004: 9) because of the high level of exposure to the majority language outside the school, and so reading in the minority languages should be introduced first. Literacy develops in a similar manner for most languages: both alphabetical knowledge and phonological processing affect early reading (Chiappe *et al.* 2002: 95).

In the immersion context, "it is possible to learn to read in L2 before L1 without any long term adverse consequences for reading achievement in either language" (Murtagh 1988: 18). At the same time, however, Cummins (2000: 25) states that "there are significant advantages in aiming to have children reading and writing (or beginning to read and write) in *both* languages by at least Grade 2" [approx. P3]. In many bilingual education contexts, particularly those with the goal of acclimatisation, the child's mother tongue is used as a bridge to the

second, often majority, language. However, in immersion education, the use of the mother tongue is restricted in order to emphasise the second, often minority, language. As Neil *et al.* (2000: 59) explain,

> in the case of minority children, it is almost universally recommended that the children should be allowed to cement their reading skills in the L1 and that this foundation supports their reading skills in the L2. In the case of majority language immersion children, it is understood that the exposure to L1 is so intense in the environment that reading skills are first acquired in the school language (quoted in Ní Bhaoill 2004: 7).

4.2.4 - literacy and biliteracy in the classroom

Given the potential diversity of pupils' language backgrounds, it can be difficult for teachers to determine how best to help pupils succeed. A first step is for the teacher to become aware of these backgrounds and establish a good relationship with parents. Pupils should be given opportunities to use whatever language(s) they do command as much as possible in order to develop their self-confidence and general academic skills. Immersion classrooms often emphasise oracy over literacy for an extended period. This early focus on speech means that

> in the initial years of primary education, when much effort is directed to enabling children to become proficient in speaking the language and to become literate in it, it may be predicted that different kinds of learning will take place which will focus more on language acquisition than on curricular learning (Johnstone *et al.* 1999: 8).

The early focus on development of oral skills may mean that these pupils are slightly behind in terms of content, but this lag is much easier to remedy than one of language.

However, a dilemma remains: whether it is preferable for the teacher to treat all pupils as learners of the language (which, at the age of four or five, is a reasonable assumption regardless of home language) or to carry on as if all were native speakers. The first approach implies "beginning at the beginning" but discounts the knowledge that children bring to school with them and will

fail to challenge native speakers, while the second approach may be an insurmountable obstacle for some children and cause irremediable difficulties if these pupils are unable to perform at the expected level. Bialystok (2002: 162) identifies "both proficiency and opportunities for use [as contributing] to the children's acquisition of literacy in a second language."

Children's language development continues throughout primary schooling (and arguably throughout adulthood), whether they are monolingual or multilingual. Providing situations for children to listen to, speak, read and write the languages that they command should be the core of the curriculum in the early years and will contribute to their ongoing development. The child's overall language ability will be developed through language use in either language (Cummins 1981: 30), particularly if they are guided by the teacher. According to Mitchell (1987: 1), "the development of children's literacy skills is much more dependent on school experience than is their oral language development."

The techniques used by the primary teacher in any classroom must be flexible and able to account for a wide variety of abilities. These traits are even more important when a second language is being used, as in immersion education. Teachers must, for example, incorporate Krashen's (1982) $i + 1$ principle for language development by providing input at a slightly higher level (+1) than the pupils' output (i):

> the teacher needs to be sympathetically aware of the level of a child's vocabulary and grammar to deliver in the immersion language at a level the child can understand, and simultaneously be constantly pushing forward a child's competence in that language (Baker 2006: 308).

Baker further describes a "strategic approach" for the development of bilingualism that incorporates "the grouping of children, resources to aid literacy development and importantly the key nature of home and school relationships" (*ibid.* 334). The initial stages of education are crucial, as Clay (1991: 10) convincingly argues:

> Later education could build upon a firm foundation if the achievement of early childhood education [to age 8] was a child who was: tuned to the meaning of texts; eager to talk and read and write; able to compose and write simple texts; able to read narrative and non-narrative texts.

While many other skills are learnt in the primary school, particularly social ones, the discussion here will focus on techniques for teaching literacy and teacher traits that exemplify "best practice".

An effective teacher of reading is characterised by both practical and social skills. A number of general traits are important, such as patience, flexibility, an encouraging attitude, sensitivity, and so forth. Datta (2000: 57) defines a good teacher as one who "sees what is happening [in the classroom], understands what they see and acts on what they understand." As noted above, awareness of pupils' individual backgrounds and abilities is essential, especially in teaching using immersion techniques. With this awareness, the teacher can tailor class activities and lessons to address weaknesses and take advantage of existing strengths. Preparation on the teacher's part will ensure that each child develops to his or her full potential: "An assessment of the linguistic repertoire and levels of literacy of each learner has to be made before any educational recommendations can be made for the language development of these children" (Alladina 1989: 129). This reflexive approach requires flexibility on the part of the teacher and willingness to try a variety of approaches; these in turn demand a broad knowledge of techniques. Applying techniques learned in training to the somewhat chaotic primary classroom represents a significant challenge, especially for new and inexperienced teachers. Yet the teacher, rather than the pupils, environment, language of instruction, materials, or methods, is the factor that dictates learning and so he or she must be capable (Morris (1969), Stubbs (1980), Ní Bhaoill (2004)).

Although the teacher is the largest influence on the pupils' acquisition of reading as well as other academic skills, other factors do have significant impact. Murtagh (1988: 14) emphasises that

> the medium of instruction is only one variable determining the degree of success eventually achieved in learning to read in a first or second language. Among the important intervening variables are the status of the second language in the community, the socio-economic and linguistic background of the student, and motivational forces such as parental involvement.

Materials in particular and the methods associated with their use can affect success. The role of appropriate materials is most noticeable when these are poor or entirely absent, as is often the case with minority language teaching and in schools in disadvantaged areas. Tosi (1981: 24) points out that "instructional and reading materials have always been considered factors of paramount importance for the success of any language learning programme" and therefore "no teacher can achieve optimal results without adequate and appropriate materials and equipment" (European Commission 2004: 51). Trends can be observed in the type of materials used, as is most noticeable when reading schemes are considered. In fact, the historical use of reading schemes (or their conspicuous absence) provides an interesting insight into differences in pedagogy (for more on reading schemes see section 4.3.4.1).

With inadequate or inappropriate materials, teachers will find it hard to maximise learning. Regardless of the methods and materials used by the teacher,

> the reading program in every school should enable almost every student to be able to read fluently and understand grade-appropriate material by the end of elementary school; to have read a large number of books, magazines, and other informational text; to reach high levels of comprehension ability; and to enjoy and learn from reading (Honig 2001: 1).

These goals include both practical and instrumental goals: the child acquires not only the skills necessary for literacy, but also appreciates the various purposes of literacy. The reading methods that are the most effective for achieving these results include "sound-symbol regularity, a controlled but large reading vocabulary introduced systematically, copying letters, words, and phrases, saying the sound the symbol stands for, and reading stories that target a particular phoneme" (McGuinness 2004: 102).

The classroom environment, while dependent upon the teacher in its organisation, also has an influence on children's performance. Physical layout can have an effect on children's learning (Datta 2000: 7). The way in which desks or tables are organised influences how pupils interact with each other and with the teacher; the accessibility of games and supplies encourages independence; wall displays facilitate lessons; and the provision of an attractive "library corner" will encourage children to engage with books. Having a variety of books easily accessible to the children contributes favourably to literacy development, as does teacher modelling of reading.

The school ethos or atmosphere also influences children's learning. Makin (2003: 334) suggests an environment "that is rich in oral language, interactive reading, and language play, with opportunities for children to both observe and participate in the functions of literacy," such as one in which a writing table is used. These activities allow children to initiate interaction and to feel that they command a language. Factors external to the actual reading process, but which still are a part of an effective classroom experience include high motivation, committed teachers, and involved parents (Blanton 2002: 298).

A further issue regarding academic performance is assessment. In Scotland, a current trend is that of "assessment for learning", indicating that assessment should not be considered an end in itself but should rather be used as part of the learning process and to pinpoint areas for further development. The method of assessment used, particularly for second language learners, can affect teachers' perceptions of progress in ways that may be inaccurate. For example, children's language skills develop at different rates: a child's literacy skills may lag behind his or her oral skills or vice versa. Testing only one aspect of a child's development may not provide a reliable indicator of progress. Some pupils may be unaccustomed to the type of testing used in schools and attitudinal factors such as anxiety also play a part: "Test scores are based on specific language and literacy tests of the school. These tests, in

turn, reflect particular literacy practices and social expectations favouring groups that control institutions" (Wiley (1996) quoted in Baker 2006: 11). While reliance on assessment results should not be too heavily emphasised, features of reading such as listening comprehension, decoding accuracy, and reading speed must be measured periodically to determine a child's progress (McGuinness 2004: 235).

4.3 - literacy

A definition of literacy is prerequisite to investigating thoroughly how children learn to read, although this definition may be quite fluid. Current perceptions of literacy in developed countries encompass far more than simply reading and writing. Mastery of skills of numeracy, symbol recognition, and perhaps shared cultural knowledge are implied in full literacy. Baker (2001: 319) lists the following as within the scope of literacy:

> Literacy is variously said to cultivate values, norms of behaviour and morals, create benign citizens, develop powers of thinking and reasoning, enculturate, emancipate and empower, provide enjoyment and emotional development, develop critical awareness, foster religious devotion, community development, and not least be central to academic success across the curriculum.

Another emerging component of literacy is that of Information and Communications Technology (ICT), which is becoming more relevant as the use of computers and other technology increases. Although literacy covers an increasing range of skills, it can still be useful to apply more narrow and traditional definitions of literacy such as that provided by UNESCO (http://portal.unesco.org/en): "A literate person is one with the ability to read and write, with understanding, a short simple sentence about one's everyday life."

4.3.1 - types of literacy

One way to look at literacy is to consider the different types and functions of literacy. Perhaps the best-known categories are those of

functional, cultural, and critical. These three types of literacy can be mastered separately, although most would argue that full literacy encompasses all three. Williams and Snipper (1990: 1) give the following concise definition:

> Functional literacy is often related to basic writing (coding) and reading (decoding) skills that allow people to produce and understand simple texts. Cultural literacy emphasises the need for shared experiences and points of reference to fully comprehend texts. And critical literacy is related to identifying the political component inherent in reading and writing.

Functional literacy corresponds closely to the popular definition of being able to read and write. It implies the ability to both decode written language into speech (reading) and encode speech into written language (writing). It is functional literacy that is measured by national surveys, according to which as much as 24% of the population of the UK is functionally illiterate (the Basic Skills Agency report at www.literacytrust.org.uk) and 1.5 million people in the UK lack sufficient literacy skills in English for employment (V. Edwards 2003: 48). Gray (1969: 24) describes a functionally literate person as having acquired "the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage effectively in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group." As the levels of local and worldwide literacy increase, the actual skills needed to fit the above definition change. Functional literacy has of course many realisations, ranging from daily tasks, such as reading a train timetable or the label on a tin of food, through the ability to read popular literature, to understanding scientific articles. The level of literacy defined as necessary is dependent upon the role that a person plays in society, meaning that acceptable levels of literacy vary for schoolchildren, construction workers, and neurobiologists.

Even a high level of functional literacy, however, may not be sufficient to participate fully in society. Cultural literacy refers to the ability to comprehend the social message in texts, and varies among communities and wider societies. Cultural literacy is particularly concerned with pragmatics, and is much more difficult for second language learners to master, particularly since

pragmatics is not often addressed in classroom language teaching (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 200). Examples of cases in which cultural literacy has an important role to play include grasping the moral in a folk-tale, drafting a business letter, and understanding the humour in an advertisement. MacDonald (2002: 12) quotes a survey participant as stating "if you are not literate, you do not have full access to the riches of literature and you have an incomplete knowledge of your heritage and culture." This statement has even more powerful implications relating to the hidden cultural messages in texts. Cultural literacy is therefore a double-edged sword: without the literacy aspect, the culture cannot be fully absorbed, yet without the culture aspect, texts may be misinterpreted or understood only literally and superficially.

Both cultural and functional literacy are considered "lower order" skills, whereas critical literacy is considered a more advanced "higher order" ability. Critical literacy requires examining the author's motivation, the political subtext, and the inherent message behind a text rather than focusing simply on what the words say. Recognising and interpreting the non-literal aspects of the text requires excellent comprehension and fluency. Critical literacy skills are usually developed in secondary school through critiques of literature or the comparison of primary and secondary sources. Critical literacy, therefore, is sometimes also labelled academic literacy. Academic literacy is a social construct and as such represents only one aspect of cultural knowledge (Williams & Snipper 1990: 8), yet a high value is placed on it. Fries (1963: 115) goes so far as to claim that "any conception of reading that fails to include reflection, critical evaluation, and the clarification of meaning is inadequate," thus highlighting the importance of critical literacy.

It is also possible to look at models, rather than types, of literacy. A rough dichotomy can be established between models that view literacy as constructing meaning and those that view literacy as decoding meaning. As will be discussed later (section 4.3.4), this dichotomy can have significant repercussions for how literacy is taught in schools. The emphasis in the

"constructing meaning" approach is on applying world knowledge to the text in order to interpret it, while the "decoding meaning" approach stresses the components of the text at the letter, word, and sentence levels. August and Hakuta (1997: 54) view literacy as a continuum, with one end defining literacy as:

> a psycholinguistic process involving component subprocesses such as letter recognition, phonological encoding, decoding of grapheme strings, word recognition, lexical access, computation of sentence meaning, and so on; at the other end, it is defined as a social practice of meaning construction with distinct characteristics among different groups.

Wragg *et al.* (1998: 25) propose a different dichotomy, one between *autonomous* and *social* literacy. Autonomous literacy refers to the cognitive skills acquired, as opposed to the emphasis of social literacy on the cultural meanings and uses of literacy. Another distinction can be made between literacy *events* and literacy *practices*. As Hornberger (2000: 361) defines it, "literacy events are the particular activities where reading and writing have a role; literacy practices are the general cultural ways of using reading and writing which people draw upon in a literacy event." This useful distinction indicates a difference between illiteracy, or being unable to read, and aliteracy, which is having the ability but choosing or preferring not to read. These various definitions of literacy demonstrate the importance of investigating how the same set of skills in reading and writing are used and valued differently across cultures.

While it is important to consider types and models of literacy from a theoretical perspective, it is also productive to examine how literacy is perceived and used by a certain society. These practical views do often correspond to more abstract definitions, yet there may be informative differences. For example, although practical and social purposes are often cited as reasons for becoming literate, there also exists a dimension of pleasure, such as reading poetry or a daily newspaper. While these activities can serve a social function through discussion of current events, reading may also be done

simply for enjoyment. Similarly, while writing a letter to a friend serves an obviously social function and filling in one's income tax forms serves an obviously practical function, keeping a journal may be solely personal. Not all literacy activities are used for communication. Cairney and Ruge (1998) identify the following purposes for literacy in homes and classrooms: literacy for establishing and maintaining relationships; literacy for accessing or displaying information; literacy for pleasure and/or self-expression; and literacy for skills development (quoted in Cairney 2003: 92). Clearly, many of the uses of literacy overlap, and may be synergistic in nature. Graff emphasises that "the uses of literacy are still debated; its basic value is not" (quoted in Street 1995: 75).

4.3.2 - perceptions of literacy

Another facet of literacy to consider involves the perceptions that a society has of literate people. In the developed Western world, it is usually taken for granted that the majority of the adult population is literate. This assumption is rarely confirmed in personal interactions, and is in fact not as likely as would be imagined despite the education system. There are still many pupils who do not achieve a high standard of reading and writing; immigrants may have conversational ability but not literacy; and a wide number of disabilities such as vision problems, dyslexia, and mental retardation can preclude the acquisition of literacy. Yet because literacy is widespread in most developed countries, it is not considered a significant accomplishment.

Conversely, in areas where the vernacular has only recently been codified into a written form, literacy may be viewed as a remarkable and powerful skill, as indeed it should be for all societies. The value placed on literacy within a society may depend on the various functions that literacy has for its members. If oral narrative and rhetorical skills are prevalent and highly valued in the community's social interactions, literacy may be used only for religious or official governmental purposes. Different uses of literacy can conflict and cause confusion when children from one culture are schooled in

another culture that may stress literacy in what for the children is a counter-intuitive way, as documented by Heath's (1983) Trackton-Roadville study. Literacy is a valuable skill, and therefore "it is important to understand how family literacy practices and their relationship to school literacy are implicated in power relationships that affect life chances" (Cairney 2003: 94), since these factors can influence the acquisition of literacy.

The significance of literacy in modern, Westernised societies, as demonstrated by the education efforts expended in order to achieve universal literacy, indicates that literacy is highly valued, if occasionally taken for granted. Reading is so intrinsic to developed societies that its literate members often do not realise how entwined literacy is as a process of "cultural transmissions, enculturation, and socialisation" (Bloome & Green 1984: 396 quoted in Bernhardt 1991: 9). One important attribute of literacy is that it permits the literate individual to function in and contribute to social proceedings. In fact, there may be as many as seven distinct social purposes for literacy: instrumental, social interactional, news-related, memory-supportive, substitutes for oral messages, provision of permanent record, and confirmation (Wray & Medwell 1991: 167-8).

The ubiquity of print means that one is constantly bombarded with messages that range from warnings and advertisements to magazines and financial invoices. Noticing, processing, and interpreting these messages is expected of most members of society. It is therefore no surprise that literacy is often a requirement for immigrants seeking naturalisation, for example in the UK and the US (e.g. Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 13). As mentioned previously, there is often the implicit, and usually mistaken, assumption that speakers of a country's major (not necessarily official) language will be literate. Much of modern civilisation is dependent on print, although this print may now appear only on the computer screen. The extent to which literacy has permeated daily life in developed countries means that it can be difficult for policy makers to accommodate the needs of those who are not literate.

4.3.3 - value of literacy

Literacy is valued for more than social reasons. It is an essential skill in school, to the extent that without reading one is unable to learn effectively in an academic context (Wragg *et al.* 1998: 5). Literacy is therefore fundamental. Johnstone (1994a: 44) characterises academic literacy as providing good communication skills, developing language awareness, and promoting learning and cognitive skills. However, it is only in the school curriculum that literacy is "an end in itself" (Makin 2003: 329). Enabling children to read and write allows them to explore new material on their own. Written language has several other advantages over spoken language:

1. it provides a permanent record so that reliability on memory is unnecessary;
2. it can be used over distances (perhaps not so important currently with the prevalence of telephones and television);
3. it can be reviewed easily;
4. it can be processed at the rate of the recipient (rather than being dependent on the producer); and
5. it provides exposure to different kinds and uses of language.

Furthermore, since written and spoken language differ in register, style, and genre (Harklau 2002: 339), commanding both confers a high level of linguistic complexity. Literacy also contributes to the child's understanding of the "logical or ideational functions of language" (Olson (1977) quoted in Cummins 1979: 231).

The flourishing textbook industry is indicative of the weight put on learning through literacy, and continuing concern over children's exam results in reading and writing (www.literacytrust.org.uk) demonstrates the importance placed on clear, coherent writing. Research shows that children with low levels of literacy fall further and further behind as school tasks become more demanding and more reliant on individual comprehension of texts (Stanovich 2000: 184); a "rich get richer" phenomenon takes place in which advanced children gain the fastest, reading up to three times as many words per session as their less skilled peers (*ibid.*). Recent research on the value of early literacy for both mother tongue and second language acquisition challenges the

ranking of oracy over literacy in schools (e.g. Day & Bamford (1998), Garton & Pratt (1998), Baker (2006)). Teaching literacy is one of the most fundamental tasks of the primary school teacher, although literacy should be viewed as a lifelong process; rather than "being a skill that is captured and kept in school [,] it is much more productive to conceive of literacy as an ongoing effort required of all levels of education and training" (Lo Bianco 2001: 40). Johnstone (1994a: 44) gives three further reasons for developing school literacy: establishing good communication skills, developing language awareness, and promoting learning and cognitive skills.

Being literate has cognitive advantages for any language user, including greater ability to use abstract language, greater variety of registers, increased vocabulary, and faster processing. However, for speakers of minority languages, these advantages are even more significant. In bilingual and diglossic situations, biliteracy is especially important for encouraging the maintenance and development of both languages. Children can see that their home language has similar purposes and functions to the dominant language, thus encouraging them to maintain the heritage language. Competing with the dominant language should not however be the prime reason to develop literacy among minority language speakers. Given the importance of literacy in contemporary societies (see section 4.3.2), Baker (2000b: 107) claims that a language needs to be written and read in order to survive in the modern world. This sentiment echoes a statement by Stubbs (1980: 30) who writes that "a language which has both written and spoken forms is a more powerful instrument of communication than a language with only spoken forms." As such, raising literacy rates is often a major objective in language revitalisation efforts, although this may necessitate codifying and standardising the language if it was not previously written.

Biliteracy has many cognitive advantages, including and surpassing those of literacy in only one language. Biliterates, when their languages are developed to similar extents, are capable of significant accomplishments both

academically and cognitively in general. Transfer, just as in spoken language, does contribute considerably to biliterate development. Concepts of books as physical objects (e.g. print as visual representation of speech) as well as concepts of reading (symbols representing sounds) can transfer easily from one language to another, even if the languages do not share a common script. For pupils in bilingual or immersion education, texts can provide a very rich and helpful source of vocabulary and demonstrate a range of registers (Stradling & MacNeil 1996: 28) to which the children may not be exposed to in the minority language outside of the classroom. Texts also provide a plethora of other advantages for language learners:

> written texts seem to offer the optimal conditions for the internalisation of a new grammar and for the development of competence. Texts not only provide orthographic clues to vocabulary and syntax; they also afford the learner greater processing time than does spoken language. Written texts can also present a greater quantity and variety of vocabulary items in meaningful contexts than can live or recorded speech. Texts are portable. (Cates & Swaffer 1979: 4).

In any language, reading allows for expansion beyond one's own world, creating a vast spectrum of experiences for the reader to become immersed in. The quantity of reading is important: "Reading is the only way, the only way we become good readers, develop a good writing style, an adequate vocabulary, advanced grammar, and the only way we become good spellers" (Krashen 1993: 23 quoted in Day & Bamford 1998: 105). Simply reading what is in the school curriculum is inadequate for the full development of literacy skills. The benefits of extensive reading include increased fluency, vocabulary, and word comprehension; becoming more educated about the world; and, in a second language context, an increase in general language competence (Honig 2001: 106; Day & Bamford 1998: 6). In order for children to appreciate and value literacy, it is important that reading "is not offered as a reward for good behaviour or for getting work completed, nor is it considered a time-filler or way of getting students quiet" (Weaver 1988: 241), as such approaches may cause pupils to resent reading time rather than enjoy it. Much of the power of literacy lies in the value that a society places on it.

4.3.4 - methods of teaching literacy

As literacy is so critical, particularly in an academic context, its acquisition merits special attention. Characteristics such as an understanding of the task of reading, phonological awareness, and making meaning are considered essential to success (see section 4.4 on the mechanics of literacy), yet teaching these skills is not straightforward. Not surprisingly, the preferred pedagogical methods for teaching literacy attract even more controversy than the definition of literacy itself. These methods include phonics, whole language, and the language experience approach. Most current teachers would describe themselves as using the most effective mixture of methods for the unique pupils that they teach. For the purposes of clarification, these methods will be differentiated here.

The phonics method, originating in the 1960s from earlier materials, still receives significant criticism, although it is now very rare for this method to be used on its own. The principle of the phonics method is that children learn systematically the sounds of letters and then combine these to pronounce words. The irregularity of the spelling system of English and many other languages causes complications for the phonics approach. At the same time, it is valuable for children to be able to sound out unfamiliar words and to become familiar with common letter combinations. Gray (1969: 77) classifies phonic methods as one of three methods utilising word elements; the others are "alphabetic methods" that use the names of the letters (rather than their sounds) and "syllabic methods" in which common syllables are taught.

The whole language approach was developed in response to the apparent ineffectiveness of the phonics method. Whole language stresses the importance of the message in text, and is often associated with the use of "real books" as opposed to basal and graded readers. Baker (2001: 324) identifies the philosophy of the whole language approach as emphasising that "literacy instruction must be intellectually stimulating, personally relevant and enjoyable for the learner." The use of context is essential, as is the introduction

of "sight words", that is, words that children learn to recognise instantly without constituent analysis. One critique of using this method exclusively is that children do not gain the ability to decode unknown words: letters and sounds are not introduced until the child has a sight word vocabulary of fifty to one hundred words, usually reached halfway through the first year of primary school (Chall 1967: 141).

Closely related to the principles of whole language is what is known as the language experience approach, labelled by Allen in 1961 (Downing & Thackeray 1971: 43). The tenets of this method are that whatever text a child produces he or she will be able to read easily, as the text is composed of the child's own structures and vocabulary (Perera 1982: 109). Sometimes the teacher transcribes what the child dictates and sometimes the child "writes" him or herself, in which case he or she is expected to be able to read back what has been written even though this may not conform to standard spelling. While the language experience methodology is quite successful for a limited range of uses, it has the disadvantage of not expanding the child's language knowledge as he or she is only producing sentences that contain familiar words and structures. The use of "real books" as opposed to graded reading schemes is also associated with the language experience approach.

These three approaches are the major models in use in classrooms at the beginning of the twenty-first century; there are other models that have had less of an impact but still influence classroom behaviour. Weaver (1988: 41) also lists the linguistic approach, the sight word approach, and the basal reader approach. As mentioned earlier, many teachers use a combination of methods. Gray (1969: 93) proposes that methods of teaching reading have become less specialised and distinct in order to improve their effectiveness. A further complication is that "teachers presented with new programs tend to carry with them old practices" (Pinnell *et al.* 1994: 10). Most of the success of pedagogical methods comes from how the teacher uses them, and particularly how he or she adapts them to suit individual pupils' needs (Gaskins 2003: 46).

There are certain techniques that can be used in the classroom which are suitable for implementing any of the above methods. One of the most common of these is oral reading. Reading aloud by the teacher is still extremely common in primary classrooms, particularly in the early years. In most classrooms this is a daily activity. Reading aloud has a multitude of positive effects. It exposes children to the basic tenets of reading, such as directionality (i.e. left-to-right for English and Gaelic) and the basic structure of written stories. All children benefit from listening to stories read aloud, regardless of their own ability in reading; even second language learners with limited fluency gain in terms of prosody, and can often follow along with the illustrations. It is beneficial for the teacher to follow the text with his or her finger, as children may find it difficult to "establish a correspondence between the parts of the utterance and the parts of the text" (Ferreiro & Teberosky 1979: 100). Galda, Ash, and Cullinan (2000: 369-71) list some of the benefits of regular reading aloud, both in the classroom and at home, as:

1. positively influencing children's attitudes to reading;
2. helping prepare children for literacy and related skills;
3. developing an interest in reading;
4. promoting language development;
5. increasing reading achievement;
6. positively influencing writing; and
7. providing opportunities for social interaction.

Reading aloud is a relatively simple way to support children's literacy development.

A related technique is "shared reading", which is the traditional reading aloud by the teacher expanded to include all the children in reading, explaining, and discussing the text, and often the illustrations as well. "Big books", which are large (from 30 x 43 cm up to 49 x 63 cm) versions of familiar stories, are very effectively used in this technique as they enable all the children to follow along with both print and picture as the teacher reads. In large as well as composite classrooms, the technique of "paired reading" can be used to great effect. In this method, an older or more experienced reader helps a less competent reader to work through the text, providing benefits for both

readers. According to Weaver (1988: 367), "young children... overwhelmingly express a preference for reading in pairs rather than reading alone or in small groups." It is very helpful for this method to be modelled by the teacher first, and indeed for the teacher or another adult, such as a classroom assistant or parent volunteer, to sometimes be half of a pair. For more able readers, long periods of silent reading are encouraged.

The best means of measuring pupils' progress in reading is a controversial topic. In the very early stages, informal measures of assessment are the most common, with the teacher keeping track of each individual's progress and basing group work on these observations. A simple list of the books or worksheets that a child has completed is a useful way to track development. It is likely that at some point the teacher will want more in-depth information on the child's abilities, and there are several options for gathering this type of information. Although listening to pupils reading aloud is a ubiquitous means of assessment, this activity may not provide a sufficient test of a child's ability to comprehend what he or she is pronouncing. However, if hearing the child read is supplemented with discussion questions, this approach can be a quick and easy way to analyse a child's skills and progress. General comprehension questions should be included as well as detailed questions on specific words, punctuation, and other aspects of the text.

Two methods that are slightly more specific are cloze-testing and miscue analysis. Cloze-testing involves deleting a certain number of words, which may simply be every fifth or tenth word or may be more focused on content words, and observing how well the child uses context to fill in the blanks. Miscue analysis involves writing a detailed version of where the child's reading deviated from the written text, and attempting to determine the reason behind the mistake, for example, whether the error was due to a similar-looking or sounding word, whether it was based on context, or was purely a guess. Comprehension testing with young children is more difficult, especially as it requires a great deal of the teacher's time. Yet because reading skills are a

central part of the curriculum, these types of assessment are necessary to determine children's progress in literacy acquisition.

4.3.4.1 – resources and publishing

For any of these teaching methods to be successful, teachers must have access to suitable and sufficient resources. Although the role of publishing may seem peripheral with regard to the acquisition of literacy, the materials available dictate the opportunities children have to interact with the written language. In the case of minority languages, materials may be limited in terms of accessibility, quality, quantity, and range, among other characteristics. If the published material in the minority language does not compare favourably to what is produced in the competing dominant language in terms of appearance, range, and quality, speakers of the minority language are further discouraged and disadvantaged. In efforts to promote language maintenance and revitalisation, "language change in one direction can easily revert to the other if adequate resources are not available to sustain and promote linguistic development" (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 139). High-quality academic minority-language resources to be used in the education system are essential, although the importance of leisure reading should not be underestimated. Goodman, Goodman, and Flores (1979: 39) make a strong case for the encouragement of publishing in the minority language:

> the more material available in both languages, the more opportunity the students have to see that both languages are considered valuable enough to have written material and to select materials which are relevant and functional for their personal and academic needs.

Five tasks are considered integral facets of publishing: selection, finance, organisation, aggregation and marketing (Ekos Limited 2001: 8). Publishing in a minority language involves special challenges, ranging from funding to readership to editing. In language revitalisation, it is crucial to consider the implications of these challenges. The knock-on effects of limited funding, relatively low demand, and low literacy levels interact to create a spiral of declining production. Several important features of quality

publications apply to minority language materials as well as dominant language materials, and are perhaps even more important for the disadvantaged language. Wallace's (1986: 158-61) criteria for choosing appropriate books to encourage second-language literacy include good stories; pictures that reinforce the story-line; cultural diversity; clear, predictable structure; well-selected vocabulary; books that are resources for learning; and functionally diverse books. Perhaps more significant than specific features of publications is the existence of a sufficiently wide range of material. A report by HM Inspectors of Schools (1998: 7) describes the ideal classroom resources:

> Most schools had a good range of supplementary reading materials and a good stock of books for reading for enjoyment. They invariably had resources to develop phonic skills and materials which supported the development of spelling, handwriting and writing skills. Most had a stock of reading games and big books for shared reading. There were often sets of audio tapes to allow pupils to listen to sounds, stories and rhymes... Computers were readily available.

However, minority-language teachers consistently identify a lack of classroom resources as one of their biggest challenges. The quantity of books available is of great importance. Strictly in terms of numbers, a school library should have at least five to eight books per child (Morrow (1989) quoted in R. Campbell 2002: 74). In the average school year, a child will (or should) read 20-25 age-appropriate books outside of the school curriculum in order to develop not only literacy but also a love of books (Honig 2001: 106). At least 2000 books per primary school are needed to accommodate for differences in personal interest, including a gender difference, with girls preferring fictional stories and boys preferring factual information books; exposure to various genres and styles; and, of course, a wide range of subjects (G. Roberts 1969: 100). Such numbers are much larger than the libraries available to most bilingual and immersion teachers (see section 5.2.5 for details on the Gaelic situation).

Another reason that having a large selection of books available is beneficial is that it allows teachers to select books of an appropriate difficulty for each child, while at the same time considering that child's interests. While

"readability" used to be calculated by word difficulty and sentence complexity, the focus is now on

> multifaceted systems... which level books according to such features as degree of decidability, amount of predictability, text length, size and layout of print, vocabulary and concepts presented, language structure, text structure, language patterns, and supportive illustrations (Casbergue & Plauché 2003: 245).

If readability indicators are not given by publishers, teachers must be trained in assessing the difficulty of texts. This task can be particularly difficult if the teacher of a minority language is not confident in his or her language or literacy skills.

In recognition of the value of literacy to the survival of a minority language, efforts to encourage new material are constantly being applied. Ideally, the team for producing materials should include

> at least one reading specialist, one or two writers who are proficient in the language used, and one person proficient in field-work for collecting information as well as testing materials. The help of a linguist, sociologist and educational psychologist should be available to the team on a part-time basis. A full-time artist will also be a great asset (McCullough & Chacko 1973: 169).

Most minority language publishers do not have such human resources available. Yet as Stradling and MacNeil (1995: 97) succinctly put it,

> all are agreed that the effective development of teaching through a lesser used language depends on the availability of good and relevant teaching materials. In particular it is crucial that these are not just translations of material developed in the dominant language.

Translation in minority language education is a contentious issue. Although the goal of most immersion programmes is bilingualism, it is felt that the minority language requires more support and, therefore, that original and attractive materials should be produced in preference to adapting existing resources. Furthermore, translations may lag behind the production of the originals by one to five years (Baker 1997a: 138), meaning that children do not benefit from the most up-to-date pedagogy. Learner-specific material is

preferred, although Moffatt (1999: 6) cautions against an over-emphasis on material for learners to the neglect of material that is of interest and at an appropriate level for native speakers, both in form and content.

An under-utilised resource in minority language contexts is older members of the community. These speakers could include pupils in the upper levels, parents of pupils in the class, or retirees willing to commit some time to the school (Datta 2000: 52). This strategy of classroom involvement not only eases the burden on the teacher as sole transmitter of language, but also provides good language role models for the pupils and encourages the involvement of the family in school learning. Immersion education can be further enhanced by cooperation with older speakers to provide "appropriate extra-curricular and extra-mural activities, community events, and opportunities to communicate regularly with adult speakers" (MacNeil & Stradling 2001: 28). These speakers, if literate, can assist with telling or reading stories aloud, listening to children read, or transcribing cultural material such as folktales, rhymes, and songs. One possible way in which such material could be distributed is through on-line publishing. Williams (1992: 20) identifies computer-aided learning and networking as "a breakthrough in making the best material available to staff and pupils in bilingual education."

Reading schemes are sets of books that are graded into levels according to difficulty and often follow the adventures a set of characters. They have become a popular way to introduce reading. Some of the beneficial features of the reading scheme approach to literacy development include "a controlled increase in vocabulary... a frequent repetition of vocabulary... the use of simplified short sentences... [and] a systematic inclusion of particular letters and letter combinations" (R. Campbell 2002: 118). These claims notwithstanding, not all teachers endorse their use. Some primary teachers find schemes to be stilted and artificial and prefer to use "real books", thus adopting more a whole language approach; these teachers often resent the time

and money spent in producing reading schemes. Conversely, as Stradling and MacNeil (1995: 62) discovered,

> some [teachers] commented on the difficulties of using 'real books' when these are not linked together in terms of vocabulary, themes, structure or grammatical patterns therefore making it difficult to ensure a structured progression in the development of the pupils' reading skills.

While teachers' preferred techniques might vary, both approaches have benefits and disadvantages. The issue of translation is of especial importance in reading schemes, as a logical progression of sounds, syntax, and so forth in one language is unlikely to correspond to another.

A variety of materials in a variety of formats can help encourage children to read in any language, particularly if the material is presented attractively; both the appearance of individual books and the appeal of the library area are important. As Constantino (1998: 209) points out, "more access [to books] means more reading, and more reading leads to higher levels of literacy and language acquisition." These beneficial results are similar to the "rich get richer" phenomenon discussed in section 4.3.3. Teaching children to appreciate reading as an enjoyable leisure activity is also made easier by a wide selection of books.

The lack of a sufficient range of high-quality material has a definite influence on academic success as well as overall literacy. Unfortunately, resource planning is not often included in teacher training courses, nor is it often considered in developing a bilingual education programme. Greater cooperation between publishing companies, departments of education, and schools would help ameliorate this situation. The development of high quality resources is expensive and time consuming, yet once completed these resources can form the basis of primary education for subsequent years.

4.4 - the mechanics of literacy

Although literacy has already been loosely defined as "the ability to read and write", and this indeed is the popular conception of literacy, it is necessary to look further into the mechanical components of reading. The mechanics of reading are well described but not well understood, as any teaching method will have some success. The indicators of a good reader, such as phonological awareness and quick word identification, do not always result in good reading, implying that other factors are at work. One way to investigate literacy is to consider the various theoretical models that have been proposed to explain the process. However, this approach does not necessarily illuminate how reading works in the classroom and community. Models often deal only with specific aspects of reading, for example comprehension or dyslexic tendencies, and reflect concurrent trends in scientific thought. These models are often created by researchers in order to support their theories of the reading process. Furthermore, models of reading are not generally designed from a pedagogical point of view, although they may have a subsequent impact on teaching practices.

Some of the components of the reading process can be isolated by observing how reading and writing are introduced in the classroom. While considering components separately may not accurately reflect the process as a whole, doing so is common in both teaching techniques and in research on reading. In real life, however, "people not only learn to read by reading and write by writing but they also learn to read by writing and write by reading" (Goodman & Goodman (1983) quoted in Hornberger 2003a: 16). The following summation of literacy development is not intended to be comprehensive; only the major features of reading are addressed. Some of the features specific to reading in an additional language will also be discussed, as these are often overlooked.

4.4.1 - theories and models of literacy

One of the most popular and long-standing ways to analyse literacy is as the double process of encoding (i.e. writing) and decoding (i.e. reading). In this model, children realise that to crack the code of print they must learn certain sound-symbol correspondences, which of course vary across languages and writing systems. One advantage to this model being used in the classroom is that reading can be viewed as a puzzle to be figured out. However automatic the encoding and decoding processes might seem to adults, separate words are impossible to distinguish in a continuous speech stream until the child's attention has been focused on the word as a unit. Many children are successful with either writing or reading but struggle with the other; the debate over which process to introduce first or indeed whether to introduce the two simultaneously will be addressed below in section 4.4.5.

From a slightly different perspective, Williams and Snipper (1990: 17) consider reading and writing to be "processes by which representational or logical relationships, in the form of mental models, are matched with words that convey the meaning of these relationships." This type of model is associated with connectivism, a framework originating in computer programming that has been applied to both first and second language learning. In connectionist theory, somewhat like Pavlovian conditioning, certain connections are strengthened through repeated use. These "learned associations between and among individual letters" help the reader to respond easily and holistically to printed words (M. Adams 1994: 846). In practical terms, the child reinforces the idea that the letters c-a-t spell "cat", are pronounced /kæt/, and represent a domestic feline. Because this letter string is repeatedly and consistently associated with the same idea, and does not, for example, ever mean "dog", and because each letter has only a limited number of phonetic realisations, the connection between the written word and the concept becomes firmly established.

For many educators, connectivism is too abstract. In 1956, Gray conceived of reading as "a complex activity of four dimensions: the perception of words, a clear grasp of meaning, thoughtful reaction, and integration" (quoted in Fries 1963: 16). While the terms used have changed, Gray's concepts remain valid and more technical explanations can be superimposed. His essential points are that the child must recognise the physical, visual shape of the words, understand what the word refers to in the "real world", reflect on the meaning of the referent, and combine the meanings of individual words to form a coherent text. This approach toward reading recognises that reading involves more than simply decoding a text into its constituent parts.

Smith (1971) and Goodman (1982) view reading as "a natural language process involving the reader in linguistic, cognitive, and social strategies" (quoted in N. Hall 1994: 18). By not divorcing reading from the other functions of language, the communicative nature of reading is emphasised, although the strategies mentioned above are not exemplified in this definition. The use of several strategies concurrently is indicative of a trend toward viewing reading as a complex cognitive activity. Focusing on reading as a *process* introduces two terms found often in theory as well as teacher training: "top-down" and "bottom-up" processing. These terms refer to the order in which readers attend to the components of the text.

The models are arranged hierarchically as follows (Wray & Medwell 1991: 99):

bottom-up processing
print → every letter discriminated → phonemes and graphemes matched → blending → pronunciation → meaning;
top-down processing
past experience, expectations, and language intuitions → selective aspects of print → meaning → sound and pronunciation if necessary

Both are serial stage models. Goodman (1967) and Smith (1971) developed the classic top-down model, while bottom-up models were developed by Gough (1972) and LaBerge and Samuels (1975) (quoted in Graham 1986: 23-25). Like other theoretical models of reading, neither of these is sufficient to account for

reading behaviour, and it is clear that good readers use varying combinations of the above processes depending on the nature and difficulty of the text. For these reasons, and also because of constant revisions and a lack of consensus, practical aspects of literacy teaching rather than theories and models of reading are emphasised in teacher training courses.

4.4.2 - beginning reading

The vast majority of children learn to read through formal instruction at school. However, their experiences prior to entering the education system are considerable and have direct influence on their degree of success. The written word is impossible to avoid in modern society, and, given children's sensitivity to their surroundings as they learn about the world, it is not unreasonable to assume that most children have begun to investigate print on their own from a very early age. Children as young as two demonstrate significant knowledge of how to cope with reading a book. Gibson ((1989) quoted in Gregory 1996: 30)) draws attention to the way in which the child

1. echoes phrases;
2. anticipates and supplies appropriate phrases, especially keywords;
3. listens to the same story over and over again;
4. "reads" the pictures as the mother reads the print; and
5. expands the story through the illustrations.

These behaviours are important precursors to school reading. Teachers can take advantage of such experience by, for example, having the children repeat choruses (much children's literature is designed with this activity in mind), by encouraging them to return to favourite books, and by drawing attention to the relationship between the print and illustrations.

Although the factors that make for capable readers are varied and interdependent, researchers have found that there are predictors for success in reading that can be measured directly (see section 4.2.2). An awareness of rhyme and alliteration is the single most consistent predictor, as it shows that the child is attuned to the constituent sounds of language (e.g. Clay (1991); Harrison (2000); Leslie (2000)). Characteristics of the language itself are also

relevant, as "the more consistent the relations between the written and spoken forms of language the easier it is to learn to read and write" (Downing 1973d: 220). The ability to rhyme is closely related to phonological awareness. Because of the nature of a phonemic-based alphabet (as opposed to syllabaries and logographic systems), rhyme indicates what teachers often term "word families": words with different onsets (initial letter(s)) but the same rime (ending segment), familiar to all readers of primers in the form of "The f-at c-at s-at on the m-at".

Also tied to the significance of rhyme is the discovery that there exists "a predictive association between children's knowledge of nursery rhymes and their development of phonological skills and emergent reading abilities" (Leslie 2000: 8). Anecdotal evidence suggests that children who play with words by rhyming, making up nonsense words, and so forth are earlier, more successful readers. Both exposure to rhymes and the confidence to experiment with language are indicative of a language-rich home environment. Of course, there are many other characteristics of a successful reader. Cates and Swaffer (1979: 9) summarise these as those pupils who

> kept the context of the passage in mind; read in broad phrases; skipped words viewed as unimportant to total phrase meaning; and skipped unknown words, using other words in the sentence as clues to their meaning.

Parents provide a large amount of their children's earliest exposure to literacy in many forms. Their central role does not end once the teacher begins formal instruction. As a child's reading and writing skill develops, he or she will need continual support. Hannon (1995) identifies four ways in which parents play an important role in their child's development, providing "*opportunities* for learning, *recognition* of the child's achievements, *interaction* around literacy activities, and a *model* of literacy" (quoted in Nutbrown 1997: 8). Regardless of their home experiences, children are developmentally ready to learn the following about print in preschool:

> print has a purpose; print holds a message; print is different from other patterns in the environment; print has a range of uses; print is powerful; everyone, including children, can use print for their own ends; the words we say are mapped onto print; print tells the story, pictures merely help; print is made up of letters; print has a particular directionality; print has a particular visual appearance; spaces separate words; words like *page, letter, word, read* and *write* are part of the technical vocabulary associated with literacy (Leslie 2000: 4).

Taken together, these features of print form what is called "print awareness", which is found to "predict future reading achievement and to be strongly correlated with other, more traditional measures of reading readiness and achievement" (M. Adams 1990: 337). While many of these concepts are glaringly obvious to literate adults, they must be learned by pupils, even if unconsciously in the context of more directed learning.

Formal instruction varies widely, reflecting prevailing theoretical models, school and national policies, teachers' own views, available resources, and language and culture more generally. The teacher is the single most important factor in determining a child's success, although conditions such as learning disabilities are beyond his or her control. Choice of method also is a relevant factor in the success of literacy acquisition. In particular, the inclusion of systematic phonic instruction results in comprehension, word recognition, and spelling skills that are equal to or better than those gained in methods that do not use phonics (M. Adams 1990: 49); although controversial, incorporating phonics certainly does no harm. A comprehensive approach will allow the majority of pupils to succeed. As Weaver (1988: 284) cautions,

> the skills necessary for proficient reading are not separate, discrete, identifiable skills that can be easily sequenced for instruction; they develop through the act and practice of reading whole, meaningful, relevant materials that encourage and support the building of those skills.

Generally, an initial focus is on teaching the sounds of the letters, although again the methods for doing so vary greatly. Increasing phonological awareness, for example through rhyming games or sound deletion, is especially important when the language being taught is not the child's first language.

Barone (2003: 292) lists the following as ways children learn about phonemes in the classroom: "listening to and memorising rhymes, clapping out the syllables in their names, saying the initial sounds in words, and journal writing." Formal reading instruction depends upon a familiarity with the sounds of the language and children must be given the opportunity to develop this (Garton & Pratt 1998: 241). Devine (1980: 115) concurs, stating that

> training in listening for the sound units of the writing system, learning the correspondences between these units and their symbols, and grasping how the units link together to make words are the essential ingredients of a successful reading method.

While phonological awareness is a key starting point, interacting with complete texts rather than isolated words is the only way to become truly literate. Trying to learn to read without access to texts, whether these are part of a reading scheme or are "real books", is the equivalent of learning to swim on dry land. Smith (1989: 355) makes this point explicitly: "Individuals become literate not from the formal instruction they receive, but from what they read and write about and who they read and write with" (quoted in Williams & Snipper 1990: 105). This viewpoint does not imply that instruction is unnecessary, rather, that instruction on aspects of reading such as letter identification and blending alone will not result in true literacy. The centrality of texts thus underscores the importance of having a rich variety of materials available to support the development of literacy and biliteracy.

4.4.3 – beginning writing

Mastering writing involves its own challenges that are similar to, but distinct from, those experienced in learning to read. Children must master "transcription and composition skills" and realise that writing "draws on structures and organisation which often differ in significant ways from speech" (V. Edwards 1983: 131). One way to encourage children's writing development is to expose them to a wide variety of texts. In this way they will become familiar with the conventions of written language. Although reading instruction usually precedes writing instruction in formal education, children are now

often encouraged to practice writing even at the pre-school level. In fact, Whitehead (1999: 49) believes that

> contrary to many assumptions, children's early writing often starts long before reading, although looking at books and listening to stories feed into early writing attempts and accelerate the development of early understanding of the alphabet and spelling.

Montessori, the well-known early childhood education innovator, "strongly advised teachers to teach children to write (spell) first, and then allow them to discover that they can read what they have written" (McGuinness 2004: 37).

Montessori's influence can be seen in the language experience approach discussed in section 4.3.4. M. Adams' (1990: 375) finding that "emphasis on writing activities is repeatedly shown to result in special gains in reading achievement" supports this approach. Strengthening the connection between reading and writing, that is, between the decoding and encoding processes, can help children to conceptualise the overall task rather than focusing on specific skills such as letter formation, irregular vowel sounds, or capitalisation. Writing workshops also emphasise the use of print as a form of communication, thus helping children to understand the purpose of learning to read and write.

Practising writing also exposes children to greater quantities of print, supports kinaesthetic learning, and increases familiarity and comfort with letter formation. The teaching technique and order for letter formation in primary schools in the United Kingdom varies by school; most techniques emphasise letter shapes, including circular letters, straight-line letters, and hump letters. In terms of a bottom-up approach to the reading process (see section 4.4.1) symbol identification could be considered a first step. The child's task is to learn that "the different letters vary in shape and that the shape of each letter is invariable" (G. Roberts 1969: 15). Tosi (1981: 36) provides the following as skills related to letter identification: features of the symbols, including degree of complexity, discriminability, visibility, and constancy; and the nature of the relationship between symbols and spoken form, including the

degree of consistency and of constancy. Applying these skills to a Roman alphabet involves, for example, learning which parts of a letter are significant (the cross-hatch of a *t* is, serifs are not), attending to orientation (the notorious problem of discriminating between *b*, *d*, *p*, and *q*), learning that certain sounds can be spelt more than one way, and that certain symbols or digraphs can be pronounced more than one way.

Writing presents a physical as well as a mental challenge for many pupils. Children learn to recognise letters much earlier than they are able to produce them independently. Bright pupils who grasp the concept of writing may lack the coordination necessary to form legible letters as quickly as they wish to. In this situation, the use of keyboards and word processing programs can be a helpful aid. As Wilkinson (2003: 161) points out, using a computer for writing tasks can minimise frustration for children, particularly boys, who know their letters but cannot physically produce them. Paired or group work, with one pupil or an adult acting as scribe, can also allow pupils to express themselves in writing at an early stage.

4.4.4 – components of the reading process

The teaching of reading necessitates many choices between well-argued alternative approaches. One of the dichotic challenges in the primary classroom is whether to introduce letters by their names (e.g. *a* /ei/, *b* /bi/, *c* /si/) or by their sounds (/a/ /æ/ /ei/ etc., /b/, /s/ or /k/). Symbol identification is of course dependent on the language: letter names are arbitrary as well as language-specific. There are advantages to both the letter and sound approaches. Two complicating factors are that children often learn "the alphabet song" (to the tune of "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star") before coming to school, and that parents tend to use names, as in "A is for apple" or the initial letter of the child's name. For this reason, Honig (2001: 26) reported that "the learning of letter names comes well before the learning of their sounds. Typically, children can recite the alphabet before age 4 but need up to 2 years to learn the corresponding shapes." It should be clear, though, that reciting the

alphabet in alphabetical order does not mean the child has "learnt" the names; children are capable of memorising songs without fully understanding the words. He or she may be more familiar with the letter names than with the sounds, but this is not the same concept.

Honig also confounds the *sounds* and the *shapes* of letters. Most children would likely be confused by an adult saying, "We call this shape [an] *a* /ei/ and it says /a/." According to McGuinness (2004: 117), "using letter names to spell is actually detrimental"; this approach increases the learning load for the child since the child then has to *unlearn* the names in order to spell (*ibid.* 276). For bilingual children, they must usually learn two sets of names and sounds, even if the same font is used for both languages. M. Adams (1990: 251) provides the following extended argument addressing the use of letter names versus sounds:

> In the interest of referential ease and clarity, use of both letter names and isolated phonemes seems reasonable, and most programmes do seem to use both. To use both while minimising confusions between them, we must observe two principles. First, both cannot be introduced to the children at the same time. Either the letter names should be thoroughly overlearned before the sounds are introduced or vice-versa. Second, we must remember that the goal of letter-sound instruction is to help the children to acquire the relations between printed letters and speech sounds. The names of the letters are neither; they are labels, and care should be taken to avoid blurring their status as such.

As children learn to read, teachers can promote "activities to develop auditory discrimination and auditory memory; visual discrimination and visual memory; letter names and sounds and word recognition as well as more general skills" (Teale & Sulzby 1986b: xiii). Developing these skills in an engaging way will contribute to overall progress in reading. It is important also to develop "higher-order" or meta-thinking about reading: the ability to step back and look at reading objectively. Children must have well-established ideas about language, although they may not be able to state these explicitly, before they can begin to make sense of reading. "Graphic, semantic, syntactic, and bibliographic" information may all contribute to textual analysis (Datta 2000:

28); Clay and Cazden (1990: 207) add phonological information to these, and emphasise that all sources of information need to be checked against one another (quoted in Pinnell *et al.* 1994: 11). Children must learn to attend to meaning and pronunciation as well as the appearance and spelling of words (M. Adams 1990: 107), and therefore need to learn multiple methods for "word attack" rather than relying solely on one aspect of the reading process. Understanding the purpose of reading rather than regarding it simply as an academic task contributes to pupils' enjoyment as well as their skill development.

McGuinness (2004: 211) also cautions against focusing too specifically on individual reading tasks: "Decoding and fluency are the gateway to reading comprehension, but they do not work in isolation from a child's vocabulary and oral-comprehension skills." Fluency is essential for advanced reading, and a child's progress can be assessed by observing the speed and accuracy with which he or she reads aloud. Fluent reading can contribute to comprehension as it lessens the load on a child's short-term memory: "a child who has to read word by word will lose much of the information before it can be comprehended" (Cummins 1979: 237). By increasing the rate and ease of decoding, the child can begin to concentrate on the overall message of the text.

The best way to develop fluency is through extensive reading, as it can develop "a large sight vocabulary; a wide general vocabulary; and knowledge of the target language, the world, and text types" (Day & Bamford 1998: 16). One of the difficulties in learning to read fluently is that written text contains fewer language signals than talk (Fries 1963: 130). In conversation, speakers can rely upon context, mouth movements, facial expression, body language, stress and intonation, and a host of other aids. Text has the addition of punctuation; the occasional use of marked text (e.g. capitals, bold, italic); and, in children's books, illustrations; however, the reader must reconstruct much of the prosody. A thorough knowledge of the language and culture therefore contributes greatly to fluent reading.

Children's strategies for decoding change as their reading abilities develop. Samuels *et al.* (1994) characterised this change as a move over time from "component processing" to "holistic processing" (quoted in Bernhardt 1991: 75): rather than focusing on the letter and word level, the reader is beginning to look at the text as a coherent whole, which is essential for fluent reading. Skilled readers continue to use both processes, "as holistic units when the words [are] familiar and through their component letters when the script [is] unfamiliar" (Samuels *et al.* 1994: 367 *ibid.*). Another indication that readers are becoming more proficient is that they not only make fewer mistakes, but also that these mistakes change with respect to how they affect the meaning of the text (Devine 1980: 103). For example, fluent readers are more likely to skip over function words than content words, and if they make a substitution for a content word, it is likely to be related in sound or meaning, rather than nonsensical.

Many early texts incorporate specific strategies to support the beginning reader. Three of the key features commonly found in children's books are "repetition, rhythm and rhyme" (R. Campbell 2002: 25). These features all contribute to the child's developing skills. Repetition allows the child to join in on a chorus while being exposed to the same sequence of letters and words multiple times within a single reading; rhythm helps the child with syllabification and prediction; and rhyme draws attention to word endings and "word families". Fox (2003: 95) suggests that these prosodic features are derived from folktale traditions and folk-story formulae. Other characteristics of texts that are written with predictable and supportive language are:

> repetitious lines, cumulative lines, rhyming or alliterative words, stories in which a picture or word on one page indicates that a certain concept will appear on the next pages, and stories in which characters, settings, even plots are familiar (Weaver 1988: 251).

One way to encourage children's independent reading is to "scaffold", that is, to provide support that is gradually lessened as the child becomes more capable and more confident. Scaffolding can incorporate the following

stages: 1) listen and repeat 2) tandem reading 3) chained reading 4) almost alone 5) the recital [with sibling]" (C. Kelly *et al.* 2002: 75). The monitoring involved in the first stages of scaffolding also allows the teacher or other adult to give individualised assistance in target areas. Such monitoring is especially important if reading is done in a language that is not the child's first.

4.4.5 – features of reading in an additional language

Reading in a second language is in many ways similar to that of reading in a first language, especially considering the positive effects of transfer, but greater effort is usually necessary on the part of both teacher and reader. Differences between languages in terms of "specific discourse demands, structures, and nuances" (Bialystok 2002: 175), including differences between dialects of the same language, deserve special attention. Drawing children's attention to particular aspects of a second language that may cause them difficulty can help avoid negative reactions and changes in aptitude and attitude. Many of the same methods of teaching reading in a single-language classroom can be used for teaching reading to bilinguals, or, conversely, teaching bilingual reading. However, some extra support may be necessary. The VAT system as proposed by Titone (1989: 273) incorporates *v*isual, *a*uditory, and *t*actile exercises, which are important basics for any teaching method, as they cater to all types of learner and provide a maximum of input and guided output. In particular, developing second-language reading and writing beyond basic skills requires intensive interaction with materials: "Krashen's (1993) comprehensive research in this area suggests that the ability of second-language learners to use academic language in writing is crucially dependent on the amount and variety of what they read" (Datta 2000: 136).

As mentioned in section 4.3.3, texts can provide a significant proportion of new vocabulary for second-language learners. Nevertheless, one of the prerequisites for beginning reading for both monolinguals and bilinguals is "a speaking vocabulary that includes all the words used in early reading lessons" as well as words used in teaching reading (Gray 1969: 125). Texts can also be

used to increase familiarity with another culture. As in first-language reading, however, stories that are related to the child's existing world knowledge will be more easily comprehended. Context can be of use both within the text itself (for example at the sentence or paragraph level) as well as within the story as a whole (for example being familiar with folktale paradigms). It is important for teachers to be aware of and to recognise the knowledge that pupils are bringing to the text.

In addition to gaps in children's knowledge, affective factors can also have an impact on the success of bilingual children's success in early reading. Such factors can include a clash between how the child is expected to respond to adults at home and in school, feelings of inferiority or lack of confidence, and general shyness. Cultural awareness plays a role here. The attitude of adults toward bilingual reading is also important:

> if materials in both languages are available for the child to hold and glance through, and if books are read to the child in both languages, biliteracy is encouraged before a child begins to decode words on a page (Baker 2000a: 93).

Although reading aloud is a prevalent teaching technique in primary school, reading silently also has its place, as it provides pupils with an opportunity to learn at their own pace, without the pressure to perform in front of their peers and the teacher. In the early stages of learning a second language, most pupils' language skills will not be balanced, and it is essential that the teacher be patient and encouraging as these skills develop.

The subskills of language are often divided into listening, speaking, reading, and writing. These are frequently ranked hierarchically as above, implying that each must be mastered before moving on to the next level. While this is often what appears to happen in first language development and through some forms of schooling, these skills in fact "develop concurrently and interrelatedly, rather than sequentially" (Teale & Sulzby 1986b: xviii). When a second language is concerned, learning certainly need not follow this hierarchical order. In fact, Gregory (1996: 89) suggests that children "can learn

to read before they have oral competence in the target language"; Stradling and MacNeil (1996: 19) note that teachers observe an improvement in oral fluency after the onset of reading. The disparity between receptive (listening, reading) and productive (speaking, writing) skills may be more noticeable in second-language learners and is at its most apparent in so-called "passive bilinguals", who have unrealised productive skills although they understand the second language well. Children's abilities in receptive and productive skills will vary by individual and disposition, and are also affected by their attitude and background experience.

One feature of learning to read in two languages that must be considered is the order of acquisition. Sequential learning, that is, reading fluency attained in one language before the other is introduced, is the most common method found in schools. In immersion methods, particularly those intended to support minority languages such as Gaelic-medium education, the minority language is taught first for both speech and writing; once skills have been well-established, the development of literacy in the majority language soon follows (Baker 2000a: 105). This approach is confirmed by findings that "the grade level at which L1 reading is introduced in immersion programs appears to make very little difference to L1 reading achievement" (McDougall & Bruck (1976) quoted in Cummins 1979: 233). Some of the factors that may influence the order of acquisition include the availability of resources for beginning readers in each language; the literary traditions of each language, particularly its use in religious domains; school, local, and national policies regarding literacy; the ability of the teacher; and the language of the surrounding community. The social, political, and educational context in which the acquisition of biliteracy takes place can affect the child's progress to a greater extent than in monolingual majority or mainstream education (Bialystok 2001: 153).

Learning to read in two languages, regardless of the linguistic and social relationship between them, requires a high degree of metalinguistic awareness.

Teaching literacy and biliteracy also requires such awareness, although the more practical aspects of teaching are usually those emphasised in teacher training courses. Teachers of second language learners, whether in a mainstream, bilingual, or immersion situation, need to be especially cognisant of the challenges that their pupils will face as regards literacy acquisition, and adjust their use of resources and techniques accordingly. This adjustment must be repeated each year as the composition of the class will differ; catering to the unique pupils and their needs will result in easier and faster acquisition of literacy.

Chapter 5: RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY

5.1 - description of schools

The six schools chosen as case studies were selected on the basis of location, size, unit history, and teacher characteristics, as discussed in section 2.2. The schools involved and their governing education authorities are Central Primary in Inverness (Highland); Daliburgh School in South Uist (Eilean Siar); Meadowburn Primary in Bishopbriggs, outside Glasgow (East Dunbartonshire); Salen Primary on the Isle of Mull (Argyll & Bute); Sleat Primary on the Isle of Skye (Highland); and Stornoway Primary on the Isle of Lewis (Eilean Siar). The schools will be referred to here by their English names, although all have Gaelic counterparts that are used on the school crest and uniforms. (Table 2 is reproduced below for reference).

Table 5 - Case Study Schools (as Table 2)

School	Location	Authority	Classes Observed
Central Primary	Inverness	Highland	P1, P2-3
Daliburgh School	South Uist	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	P3-4
Meadowburn Primary	Bishopbriggs	East Dunbartonshire	P1-2
Salen Primary	Isle of Mull	Argyll & Bute	P1-3
Sleat Primary	Isle of Skye	Highland	P1-2
Stornoway Primary	Isle of Lewis	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	P1-2

The focus of the study is on P1-3 classrooms as the years when intensive literacy instruction takes place. The composite nature of most Gaelic-medium units, due to low pupil numbers, means that many classrooms are composed of more than one year-group. Although each primary unit caters for P1-7 as well as having an associated or integrated nursery class, the division of years differs by school. The specific classrooms observed are as follows: P1 and P2-3 at Central (the only school where two teachers were observed), P3-4 at

Daliburgh, P1-2 at Meadowburn, P1-3 at Salen, P1-2 at Sleat, and P1-2 at Stornoway (see Table 2 above). These composite classes mean that although only seven classrooms were observed, the year-groups included 5 P1 classes, 4 P2 classes, and 3 P3 classes. The total number of P1-3 pupils observed was 104, although absences meant that not all pupils were present for each of the four observation sessions. The case study therefore involved about 11% of the P1-3 pupils in Gaelic-medium education for 2004-2005.

5.1.1 - teachers

Teacher details will be presented in summary form in order to protect privacy and maintain anonymity. All of the teachers involved in the case study are female, which is representative of the high proportion of female teachers in primary schools throughout the UK (93%) and no less true in Gaelic-medium education, although the specific percentage is not available. Only three of the 32 Gaelic-medium primary teachers (9%) who responded to the initial questionnaire were male. Of the seven case-study teachers, four had all their teaching experience in GME; three had transferred from English-medium teaching. These three veterans all became involved in GME more than a decade ago when the system was undergoing a great deal of expansion (see Table 3). Years of experience teaching in Gaelic-medium at the start of the study ranges from two years to twelve years, with an average and median of nine years. Teachers had received their certification from various universities, and not all had followed the Gaelic-medium pathway: for the veteran teachers this had not been an option. The significance of teacher training is discussed further in section 6.4.2.

Language background also varies widely, and along with teaching experience was one of the factors in case-study selection (see section 2.2.1). Language background was self-described, and ability was not formally assessed. Four of the teachers are native speakers who spoke only Gaelic until they first entered school, while another is a bilingual native speaker with both languages in the home from birth. The other two teachers both have Gaelic

speakers in the immediate family; one went to a primary GMU and the other attended the Gaelic college Sabhal Mòr Ostaig after taking Gaelic courses at the secondary level. Confidence in speaking Gaelic is fairly high among all teachers, but confidence in reading and writing ability is less strong. This uncertainty means that many teachers feel challenged by new terminology and the necessity of producing classroom resources without sufficient support. Overall, however, the teachers appear very competent and enthusiastic regarding Gaelic. The teachers' language ability has a significant impact on children's language development and academic progress as is particularly evident in sections 5.2.4 and 5.4.

5.1.2 - schools

The physical learning environment in the primary school is often overlooked in research studies, but it is an important factor in determining children's positive or negative experiences at school. The physical location and layout of each school and classroom has an impact on the teaching that takes place, and so will be described here in some detail school by school. Classrooms are much more child-oriented now than in the mid-twentieth century when current teachers attended primary school, with small-scale furniture, colourful and appealing decoration, and greater freedom in where and how to teach. The variety in teaching techniques and layouts is quite wide across the case study. For Gaelic-medium units, another variable is how the unit is integrated with the rest of the school. A comparative table of pupil characteristics (Table 6) is provided in section 5.1.3.

5.1.2.1 - Central Primary School[4]

Central Primary is located in a busy residential area of Inverness, within easy commuting distance for most of the pupils, although it has a large

[4] A new stand-alone Gaelic-medium primary school for Inverness and the surrounding area is due for completion in April 2007. The description here pertains to the school as it existed during the 2004-2005 case study.

catchment area. The classrooms are divided among several buildings, which is advantageous as the GMU is housed in a separate building. Although this building is quite old, it is well-suited for the unit. The classrooms are large with high ceilings. The five classrooms (nursery, P1-2, P3-4, P5-6, P6-7) of the unit are grouped around a central hall, which is used for storage of extra resources, particularly books; whole-unit and whole-school meetings; display of pupil artwork and projects; and activities that require a large space.

Two classes were observed at Central Primary, P1 and P2-3. The layout is similar in both classrooms, with five to seven chairs grouped around low tables. These tables were organised by class in the P2-3 classroom, but with mixed-ability groups. Assigned seats are used in P1 but not P2-3. Mobility is high, with pupils moving to the front blackboard, to the reading and writing walls, to the library corner, and to specialised areas such as the computer or art table for lessons. Each area has a specific function, thus emphasising the nature of the task and focusing pupils' attention. Decorations are a good mix of commercial displays such as alphabet and maths posters, self-produced material targeted at specific lessons, and pupil artwork and stories. Both classrooms are well-stocked with books, activities, and supplies.

The P1 class at Central had fourteen pupils in 2004-2005 and the P2-3 class had 24, eleven in P2 and thirteen in P3. The total GMU roll was 98. The gender ratio was 60/40 boy/girl, and there were only four native speakers in P1-3. Most of the P1 pupils had been involved in the *sgoil àraich* (Gaelic-medium nursery) physically integrated with the unit. Many P1-3 pupils have older siblings who were attending or had attended the unit. Central was one of the initial Gaelic-medium units established in 1985 after the Bilingual Education Project ended. Although not considered to be in the Gaelic-speaking heartland, Inverness is the urban centre of the Highlands; it has had a significant proportion of Gaelic speakers for centuries and experiences continued in-migration from Gaelic-speaking areas (for migration statistics see MacKinnon (2006)). There are four classroom assistants between the two

classrooms, all of whom are Gaelic speakers, with most speaking the language natively. In a 2004 HMIE report for Central Primary (http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/CentralPrimarySchool(En.html)), inspectors concluded that "from P1 onwards all pupils made very good progress in acquiring skills in listening and talking" and that "in reading, most pupils at P3 and P6 were achieving national attainment levels." The report also commented on the equal treatment of English and Gaelic-medium pupils.

5.1.2.2 - Daliburgh School

Daliburgh School is located several miles from the Lochboisdale ferry terminal, and has a fairly large catchment area in the southern half of South Uist. The school is one of the older buildings in the case study, although renovation is taking place. Daliburgh School includes S1-2 classes in addition to nursery and primary classes. Many of the staff, including the depute headteacher, speak Gaelic, some of them natively. The primary GMU is located in three classrooms (P1-2, P3-4, and P5-7) down one hallway, with the nursery in an adjacent building. Some lessons, such as religious and moral education, cross these class boundaries and may be combined with the English-medium classes. The case-study P3-4 classroom has a traditional feel, with all chairs facing front and the teacher's desk as a focal point, although some work is done using a side blackboard. Resources and decorations are mainly confined to the edges of the room. Because this classroom is for slightly older pupils, decorations and games are less prominent, and books are displayed in standard bookshelves with only the spines showing, rather than with the covers facing out as is common in classrooms for younger pupils. Pupil-produced displays emphasise writing in both Gaelic and English. Two computers and a TV/VCR/DVD unit are available and are popular with pupils (see section 5.2.3).

The total GMU roll at Daliburgh for 2004-2005 was 40, making it the third largest unit in the Western Isles. The P3 class had four pupils, all girls, and the P4 class had five girls and four boys: a total of thirteen. Almost half

were native speakers, with Gaelic spoken by at least one parent in the home. These numbers confirm Duwe's finding that South Uist is one of the few areas in which intergenerational transmission is still taking place (2005 vol. 3: 1). *Sgoil àraich* attendance is high and siblings in the unit are common. The unit was established in 1991, but Gaelic had had a significant place in the curriculum prior to the official opening of the unit. The 1999 HMIE report (http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/Daliburgh%20School%2022-1-00.pdf) found that attainment in Gaelic was good across the school, with almost all pupils meeting or exceeding national targets.

5.1.2.3 – Meadowburn Primary School

Meadowburn Primary is one of several GMUs in the suburbs of Glasgow. The school is located in Bishopbriggs, a residential area. Like many of the schools in the case study, the GMU (P1-2, P3-4, and P5-7) occupies a separate hallway. Children do, however, share the lunchroom, playground, music and computer rooms, and other public areas with English-medium pupils. This overlap means that hearing and speaking English during the school day is difficult to avoid. The P1-2 class selected for the case study is located in a large and bright room with decorations on nearly every surface, both horizontal and vertical. One of the display areas is devoted to a topic or theme, which changes regularly. Pupils are separated by class and grouped around tables, with additional tables for reading and art. The library corner and the floor area in front of the blackboard and whiteboard are used extensively, particularly when classes are separated for lessons. These areas, as well as the "house corner", art centre, and listening station are well-defined. Pupils move often for different activities, although assigned seats are used for most direct teaching. Resources are easily accessible to the pupils, who are encouraged to find their own clearly labelled books, jotters, and supplies independently. Although the library is small, the books are displayed attractively.

P1 had eleven pupils and P2 had nine; there were only six girls compared to fourteen boys in the combined class. None of the twenty pupils

are native speakers of Gaelic, although many had attended the integrated *sgoil àraich* and have an adult speaker (often a learner as well) in the home. In this respect Meadowburn is characteristic of GMUs in Central Scotland, most of which also have a very high proportion of learners. Most auxiliary staff, including supply teachers, are English monoglots, but the Gaelic-medium teachers often trade teaching other classes within the unit. This sharing of teaching responsibilities is beneficial for the children in that they are exposed to other teaching and speaking styles; transition to the next class is also made easier because they have already had some experience with the teacher. Meadowburn had a typical roll for a GMU of 42, and has experienced significant growth since the unit was established in 1988. The last HMIE report is no longer available; an update is due within the next three years.

5.1.2.4 – Salen Primary School

Salen Primary is the smallest of the case-study schools, both in terms of physical space and pupil numbers. Located in a small village on the Isle of Mull, the GMU is one of the more recently established, in 1995. A new school was built in the late 1990s, which incorporates many of the newer ideas of layout such as the no-door open plan and non-rectangular classrooms. Bright displays are mainly commercial. Files and books take up much of the wall space. Pupils are grouped around tables, but much work is done at centres around the classroom or on the floor in front of the main blackboard or a side whiteboard. The unusual non-rectangular shape of the classroom creates several areas that are somewhat isolated and conducive to small group work.

The GMU had 29 pupils in 2004-2005 (almost half the total school roll) and only two classrooms, P1-3 and P4-7. The GMU is integrated with the rest of the school as there are only five classrooms in all. Boy/girl split is fairly even. P1 had three pupils, P2 only one, and P3 had seven, for a total of eleven, with three native speakers. Nearly all had attended the associated *sgoil àraich*, located in an adjacent building. The school encountered a staffing crisis midway through the year when the P1-3 teacher transferred to another unit;

the class was taken by a rotation of the P4-7 teacher, English-medium teachers, and classroom assistants. The classroom was also rearranged at this point. The pupils seemed to cope well with this situation, and some in fact performed better under the new arrangement. The HMIE report of 2001 (http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/salen_ps01.html) noted a very good spirit in the GMU, and good achievement in Gaelic overall. Salen Primary is a good example of a successful GMU in an area where Gaelic had only historical significance and where there was not a sizeable native Gaelic-speaking population when the unit was established.

5.1.2.5 - Sleat Primary School

Sleat Primary is distinctive because of its proximity to Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic college in southern Skye. A high proportion of pupils have parents who either attend or teach there, giving Sleat Primary a very strong Gaelic ethos. The headteacher, in fact, considers Sleat to be a Gaelic school with an English-medium unit, although it is not officially designated as such: Gaelic-medium pupils do outnumber their English-medium peers and the majority of staff speaks Gaelic[5]. The school is located in a rural setting. It is occasionally pressed for space. Resources are extensive, and the walls in the classrooms as well as in public areas display a good range of pupil work. The P1-2 case-study classroom is small but not crowded. Pupils face forward at all times, but seating assignments change often and the library corner is used for small group instruction. Pupils move purposefully around the classroom during independent work. Sleat has a high proportion of visiting specialist teachers and classroom assistants, not all of whom speak Gaelic.

At the beginning of the 2004-2005 school year, the pupil roll for the P1-2 class was fifteen, but this increased by three by the end of the year, including two pupils who transferred from the school's English-medium class.

---

[5] The academic year 2005-2006 was characterised by an ongoing debate over whether Sleat Primary should become a dedicated Gaelic school. This debate was not yet in motion during the case study.

Most pupils have at least one Gaelic-speaking parent, and there are a high proportion of native and neo-native speakers, possibly as much as 60%. Nursery attendance is very high. There were significantly more boys in the P1-2 class: eleven compared to seven girls. Each class had nine pupils. The total enrolment in the unit for 2004-2005 was 50. The GMU was established in 1996, although Gaelic had played a part in the curriculum prior to this and is also taught as a second language in the English-medium classes. The 2000 HMIE report (http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection /sleat_ps01.html) was very favourable, particularly in regard to the Gaelic-medium classrooms. As mentioned above, the reputation of the school in the local community is very good.

5.1.2.6 - Stornoway Primary School

Stornoway Primary is located in the urban centre of the Western Isles. However, due to the long-established English presence in the town and the opening of suburban GMUs, the unit is not as large as might be expected, with only 41 pupils out of a total roll of over 300. The school is quite extensive, with the GMU occupying a separate wing. Logistically the GMU is incorporated into the rest of the school, sharing halls for cloakrooms, physical education, music, assemblies, and so forth. This situation means that pupils frequently encounter English during the school day. Most specialist staff are English monoglots, but classroom assistants are Gaelic speakers. The classroom is large and well-decorated, with many resources readily available. The walls in particular are covered in useful displays, many created by the teacher specifically for the classroom. Pupils sit in two distinct class groups, but move often, and a side table is used for many lessons. Different areas in the classroom, such as the drama corner, library, computer, and writing table, are well-differentiated. The teacher's desk is a strong focal point.

The P1 class in 2004-2005 had eight pupils and the P2 class seven. The combined class was 60% girls. All but two pupils had attended the integrated nursery, and four were native speakers, with several others having at least one

Gaelic speaker in the home. The GMU was established in 1989. This longevity was evident in the amount of resources in the classroom as well as a sense of well-established procedures for teaching. A 2004 HMIE report (http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/6231829Stornoway%20PS.html) pointed out several weaknesses in the academic programme, particularly in terms of passive learning and low attainment levels; in most respects, however, the GMU outperformed the English-medium section.

5.1.3 - comparison

At all six schools, staff and pupils were enthusiastic about being involved in the case study. The classrooms have a productive atmosphere in common, although they vary in terms of pupil numbers, teacher experience, and other factors. See Table 6 below for a comparison of the Gaelic-medium units in the study. The variety exhibited in the classrooms is representative of the differences found across both GMUs and primary classrooms throughout Scotland. Pupils are comfortable in their classroom environment. Noisy and chaotic though they might have been at times, progress was evident throughout the year in terms of pupils' academic and social maturation. While there are many characteristics of the primary classroom that affect how and what children learn, including the physical environment, the following discussion focuses on the resources and techniques used in teaching literacy.

Table 6 - Distribution of Pupils in Case-Study Gaelic-medium Units

School	Total GMU Roll	Classes Observed	Pupils in Each Class	Pupils in Composite Class	Boys/Girls	Native Speakers
Central	98	P1	14	14	60/40	4
		P2	11	24		
		P3	13			
Daliburgh	41	P3	4	13	0/100	2
Meadowburn	42	P1	11	20	70/30	0
		P2	9			
Salen	29	P1	3	11	45/55	3
		P2	1			
		P3	7			
Sleat	50	P1	9	18	60/40	10
		P2	9			
Stornoway	41	P1	8	15	40/60	4
		P2	7			

5.2 – classroom resources

Classroom resources, while not as important as the teacher for pupils' learning, nevertheless can have a significant impact on progress, as well as influencing the pupils' attitude toward and enjoyment of school (see section 4.3.4.1). The teacher is necessarily constrained by the materials that are available: not only books, but also worksheets, posters, tapes and videos (or CDs and DVDs), and computer programs. A larger range of materials means greater flexibility for the teacher. Contemporary teaching techniques are reliant on a variety of resources. Gaelic-medium education is still disadvantaged in this regard, but the situation is constantly improving. At the beginning of the Bilingual Education Project 30 years ago, most material was teacher-produced or cheaply mimeographed. Now there is a reading scheme, a phonics scheme, a maths scheme, and a series of "reading for information" books, all

commercially produced[6] by companies such as Stòrlann and Acair, and in full colour. Despite these developments, teachers are still required to do a lot of preparation themselves, and many of the books in the classroom libraries are still pasted-over translations, with a printed Gaelic text glued onto each page. An overview of the types of resources available in the case-study classrooms follows.

5.2.1 - schemes

By far the most significant development for primary Gaelic-medium teaching has been the ongoing translation of *Storyworlds*, a graded English reading scheme, into Gaelic. The translations of the main series have been done by Anna Nic Dhòmhnaill, who also translated the worksheets and wrote notes for the teacher. Series 1-8 and 10 (*Storyworlds: Bridges)* were available at the time of the case study; series 9 was published in January 2006. The first nine levels consist of 16 individual books apiece, four in each of four themes, given here with both the Gaelic and the original English names:

-*Saoghal Bheathaichean*/Animal World,
-*Saoghal Guanach*/Fantasy World,
-*Saoghal Uair bha Siud*/Once Upon a Time World, and
-*Ar Saoghal*/Our World.

These themes provide structural and thematic links. Characters remain constant through each theme, and key words are emphasised. The four themes also provide different types of story: humorous anecdotes about animals, fairy tales, folk tales and moral lessons, and everyday childhood dramas. Teachers may select from these the texts that they think the pupils will find most appealing, although the majority of teachers utilise the entire scheme.

Each series is accompanied by a teacher guide and master worksheets. The worksheets are photocopied for pupils as needed, rather than being provided as workbooks. These worksheets are appropriate to the series level,

[6] The term "commercial" and "commercially" will be used throughout the discussion of resources to indicate that these resources were produced by publishing companies, albeit heavily subsidised ones, in order to distinguish these resources from those produced by teachers.

including such tasks as letter identification and matching, chronological ordering of a sequence of events from the story, spelling of key words, and sentence completion. The number of worksheets per book varies widely. Many teachers do not require pupils to complete every worksheet, as they can become repetitive. Series 1-7 also have audiotapes that use a beep to signal when to turn the page, a format that pupils are familiar with from other audiotapes for use in the home. Four narrators with distinct accents, one for each subseries, do the reading. These tapes can be used in the classroom, and can also be sent home to assist parents not comfortable with reading in Gaelic or to allow children to "read" independently.

Although the series has now been fully translated, in some ways the reading scheme is not yet complete. The supplemental materials associated with *Storyworlds*, such as "big books", whole-class workbooks, and games, have not been translated from English. These materials can be pasted-over or approximated with various types of activities, although this process will require preparation on the part of the teacher. Every Gaelic-medium unit receives sufficient copies of the reading scheme free of charge from Stòrlann,[7] although it is up to school policy and the discretion of the individual teacher to decide how much use to make of it. Four of the case-study classrooms follow the scheme exactly; three adapt it for their own purposes. Every teacher interviewed mentioned the use of *Storyworlds* as the main tool for teaching reading.

Most English-medium classrooms are not restricted to the use of a single reading scheme; even twenty years ago English-medium teachers had "well over 100 reading primers to choose from" (Beech 1985: 21). Since, at present, *Storyworlds* is the only scheme available in Gaelic, Gaelic-medium teachers may decide to supplement the use of *Storyworlds* with paste-overs of other English schemes. The pupils who are most likely to benefit from this practice are those at the ends of the achievement spectrum: those who are

[7] Stòrlann contributed a copy of the scheme to be analysed for this thesis.

struggling and require additional practice at a certain level, and those who advance quickly through the assigned books and need further material. Pupils tend to view pasted-over schemes as inferior, perhaps reflecting the uncoordinated manner in which they are used and their physical appearance.

The use of other reading schemes is an effective means of expanding the classroom library, but these schemes do not represent "real" literature, and furthermore are necessarily translations, which may not be checked for accuracy. By far the most popular supplementary scheme in use is *Oxford Reading Tree (ORT)*, which was pasted-over and used in many classrooms before the translation of *Storyworlds* was published. Two teachers make the use of *ORT* a regular part of their reading programme. Even if this scheme is not employed officially, the books are often placed in the class library and used both for reinforcement and pleasure reading. *ORT* is especially recommended for pupils who are ahead of the class or reading group in *Storyworlds*. One teacher also uses the pasted-over *Lighthouse* reading scheme to provide additional books graded to the pupils' ability.

A further scheme used in primary classrooms is *Discovery Worlds*, also a translation. *Discovery Worlds* has only been distributed in the past two years, and so is not yet in wide use. This scheme is published to complement the "reading for information" (that is, non-fiction) aspect of the early years, and is currently available in five levels, although only three were in print at the time of the case study. Three schools have the scheme in their class libraries; in only one was it used to complement a lesson, and in this case the teacher rather than the pupils did the reading, although books were available for each child to follow along. The books are intended more for reference use than for leisure reading, although children particularly enjoy the use of labelling and actual photographs. The text in these books is not complicated, but involves a significant amount of special terminology such as animal names and clothing items, some of which are neologisms, calques, or "Gaelicised" English.

The new phonics scheme *Facal is Fuaim* ("Word and Sound"), based upon *Jolly Phonics*, is more specifically targeted to language acquisition and reading readiness. The goals of this scheme are learning letter sounds, learning letter formation, blending, identifying sounds in words, and spelling the "tricky" words (www.jollylearning.co.uk). It is thus a comprehensive approach to early literacy acquisition. *Facal is Fuaim* was translated and prepared by Gena NicIlleathain and Dòmhnall Iain MacLeòid. The scheme was newly released in Gaelic in autumn 2005 through Stòrlann and so was not used during the case study. All the P1 teachers were aware that it was forthcoming and were looking forward to incorporating the new techniques, such as actions associated with sounds, as well as the pre-packaged materials.

The other major scheme in use in Gaelic-medium classrooms is *Heinemann Matamataig Alba*, translated from the Scottish Heinemann Maths Scheme. This workbook-based scheme will not be discussed thoroughly here, although all the schools use it, and language in the form of maths vocabulary and directions is a significant part of the scheme. Like *Storyworlds*, the maths scheme focuses on key words, in this case numbers and terminology for basic mathematical functions, as well as money, time, measurement, and shapes. However, the language used in the workbooks for P1-3 is usually read by the teacher rather than the pupils.

5.2.2 – supplementary materials

Several other types of commercially produced resources are used in primary classrooms besides textbooks. Children's fiction will be discussed in section 5.2.5 on classroom libraries. Especially in the early years, brightly coloured posters portraying maths vocabulary, the alphabet, and basic information such as days of the week, birthdays, and class rules are displayed. All of the case-study classrooms display at least some of these posters. They are often organised by theme, such as reading and writing, maths, calendar, and school behaviour. Class rules were available in commercial form, used in two schools, but were created by the teacher and class in cooperation in one of

these schools as well, and in another school (see Appendix B for an example of class rules).

Number and alphabet lines are particularly popular, with several variations available commercially, as well as teacher-produced forms. All of the alphabet lines use alliterative illustrations: a separate A4 page for each letter, based on material provided by Highland Council; a poster with illustrations from *An Aibidil Annasach* ("The Quirky Alphabet") book published by the City of Edinburgh Council in 2004; and a poster and line produced by two education authorities. Teachers in two classrooms display the order of letter formation with diagrams illustrating how to write each letter, although this order varies by school and method used. Difficult sounds and blends are sometimes emphasised in poster or list form; these were all teacher-produced. Word lists can include key words from the reading scheme, words useful in writing stories, and, in P2 and P3 classrooms, spelling words. Labels on classroom objects are also used to increase the amount of environmental print; these include labels for pupils' supplies. Pupils' names are found as labels in all P1 classes, on tables, pencil boxes, jotters, and folders or drawers; using names in this fashion "reinforce[s] the symbolic nature of writing" (Mallett 2003: 63). Many displays, particularly of vocabulary, are targeted to the specific needs of the class (see Appendix B for examples of these types of materials in one case-study classroom).

5.2.3 – audio-visual

Gaelic audiotapes and CDs are found frequently in the case-study classrooms. All classrooms are supplied with the audiotapes for the *Storyworlds* series, and three classrooms also have other books on tape available for the children to listen to and take home. Although the *Storyworlds* tapes are only available to schools, bookshops may stock book-and-tape sets of other stories. CDs are music only, but some are targeted for use in schools, such as the tapes and CDs based on the popular television series *Dòtaman*, which include a booklet of illustrated lyrics and sheet music. Although not all

classrooms have a stereo or television on a permanent basis, one is easily obtainable in every school. Video programmes such as *Baile Mhuilinn*, which is used at P1 and P2 to encourage language development with an emphasis on phonics in series 2 and 3, also have worksheets associated with them (for further discussion of *Baile Mhuilinn* see section 5.3.1) . Some radio programmes have an educational slant, for example encouraging mental maths or developing listening comprehension, and these are used in two of the case-study schools.

All pupils have access to computers, although usually only one terminal is available in the Gaelic-medium classroom itself. Two schools use a separate computer lab for whole-class instruction. Computer games are very limited in Gaelic, and many are poor copies of English programs. The use of ICT becomes more prevalent in the upper stages, and programs such as *Sàr Obair*, which is targeted at writing, are used as a further resource. According to HMIE (2005), teachers see "the need for more software and high quality interactive Gaelic-medium websites as a main resource priority." Board and card games, although common in English-medium primary instruction, are very limited in Gaelic-medium classrooms. Often teachers use games that have no words printed on them, such as picture lotto for vocabulary development. However, because such games have not been designed with the language learner in mind, the vocabulary used may not be known to the child, and may in fact not have a satisfactory or widely known Gaelic equivalent.

5.2.4 – teacher-produced material

Owing to the continued gaps in the provision of Gaelic-medium resources, many teachers create their own materials. This practice is much less frequent than it was even five years ago, although much of the older self-produced material is in use. There are both advantages and disadvantages to teachers creating resources. On the one hand, self-produced materials can cater exactly to the pupils' needs and interests, they can easily be linked to projects and themes, and the use of language can be carefully controlled. On

the other hand, a "home-made" appearance, even with the use of computer word-processing and graphics programs, is hard to avoid; teachers are not infallible when it comes to spelling and grammar and often no editor is available; and most significantly, the preparation of such resources takes up valuable time, even if they are used in subsequent years.

Teachers often create classroom decorations to complement the commercial posters available. These decorations may be related to a specific theme or topic being covered, or may reflect the interests of the class. Many decorations incorporate the children's names, thus contributing to environmental print, such as stars for *Àm Òr* [sic] ("Golden Time", a weekly reward system) or children's birthdays that emphasise the names of months. Two teachers use a chart to indicate the work to be completed that day; one of these charts posts names next to certain tasks. The creativity and extent of self-produced decorations are heavily dependent on the individual teacher. Pupils' work is also displayed, which has the benefit of boosting self-esteem and encouraging neat work. In P1 classrooms, art is prevalent, although handwriting practice is common, and by P3 pupils' own stories may be posted.

Worksheets and jotters are often prepared by the teacher. Self-produced worksheets are necessary for books outside of the reading scheme, yet are found in only two of the case-study classrooms. The use of word-processing and graphics programs has made the preparation and copying of such materials significantly easier than cutting and pasting. However, teachers receive no formal training in the preparation of resources. The quality and content therefore vary widely. One advantage of using schemes, therefore, is that the texts eliminate teacher error in translating or producing materials. Most of the labelling and other environmental print around the classroom is written or typed by the teacher, as are the flashcards. The labels are often classroom-specific, although some words will obviously be found in all classrooms, but flashcards are usually based on the reading schemes or on popular books and could easily be published in mass quantities. Paste-over

translations are still in frequent use, both for books in the classroom library and for posters, "big books", and, less frequently, worksheets. Several case-study teachers mentioned that the school has a significant backlog of books to be translated and pasted-over.

5.2.5 - libraries

Given the significant role that free reading has on reading development (see section 4.3.3), the availability of books is a significant measure of how literacy-friendly a classroom is. The books available in primary classrooms vary greatly in terms of quantity, quality, and patterns of use. All of the case-study classrooms have at least one shelf of books, and in all but one the books are part of a "library corner" intended for quiet perusal. In some classrooms the library corner is used for its intended purpose, with books attractively displayed and accessible, while in others the corner tends to be usurped for other purposes and pupils rarely have an opportunity to sit quietly on the cushions or floor and look at books of their own choice and at their own pace. Some classrooms have further books either in cupboards or in central storage areas. The pupils do not usually have direct access to these books, although they may ask the teacher for them and the excess books are rotated through the library. Most classrooms have a significant proportion of books that are displayed but never used. Although Morrow, Casey, and Haworth (2003: 16) emphasise the importance of categorising books by subject and levelling them by difficulty, such organisation was not in evidence in the case-study classrooms.

The number of Gaelic-language books in the case-study classrooms varies widely, from 55 to 202. A list of all the books available in the case-study classrooms can be found in Appendix D. The composition of case-study classroom libraries can be seen below in Table 7.

Table 7 - Analysis of Books in Case-Study Classrooms

Classroom	Total Books	Different Books	Change Over Year	Paste-overs
Central P1	217	170	+3	121 (71%)
Central P2-3	304	202	+27	123 (61%)
Daliburgh P3-4	270	55	+4	0 (0%)
Meadowburn P1-2	79	68	+30	1 (2%)
Salen P1-3	310	112	+70	12 (11%)
Sleat P1-2	162	132	+43	69 (52%)
Stornoway P1-2	465	148	+7	30 (20%)

The average number of books per classroom is 127 different books, not including reading schemes; the median is 132. English books were only available in significant numbers in one classroom; these were not counted. Multiple copies of the same book swell numbers in some classrooms by as much as four times. Usually multiple copies are reference books such as dictionaries, although two teachers request multiple copies of all books for whole-class work. As seen above, paste-overs form a large proportion of classroom libraries, sometimes as much as 60-70%, although two classrooms have no paste-overs at all. This disparity is one of many related to resources provision in Gaelic-medium units. All classrooms experienced an increase in the number of books available to pupils throughout the year. This increase is due to a combination of books being brought out of storage or common areas, and to newly published books being purchased or sent to the school. Stòrlann sends each unit a copy of new books, and teachers and schools then decide whether to purchase additional copies. Books published by Acair must be bought separately.

The vast majority of books in classrooms are narrative fiction. Reference works, "reading for information" books, and "big books" are in very short

supply. All classrooms have at least two or three different dictionaries, with over half having six. The most popular, according to pupils and teachers, are *Dealbh is Facal* (Acair & Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (1987)) and *Mo Chiad Fhaclair* (PRG & Acair Earranta (1996)). Only the latter is a dictionary proper; *Dealbh is Facal* is mainly labelled pictures and furthermore has been out of print for some years. It is not uncommon to find adult dictionaries in use in Gaelic-medium classrooms. The sole children's thesaurus, *Dòigh Eile air a Ràdh* (MacLeòid (2000)), is also a common choice. Grammar books are only found in the upper level classrooms, and are referenced only very infrequently. Pupils likely lack the metalinguistic terminology at this stage to access these books independently (for more on references see section 5.3.6).

"Reading for information" books, that is, non-fiction, have recently been given a large boost with the translation of three levels of the *Discovery Worlds* series. These books have an obviously pedagogical format, evident in the vocabulary used, the structure and tone, and the layout. The use of photographs rather than drawings also contributes to their real-life applicability. There are many popular topics that are not covered by these books, such as dinosaurs and castles, making it difficult for children to follow up on interests piqued by thematic lessons in areas such as science and history.

"Big books", which are usually used for whole-class reading, are also few and far between and virtually all are paste-overs: only one classroom has more than three "big books". Many teachers prefer to use these larger-format books during a lesson, especially for beginning readers. One teacher notes that "big books" are popular because the size and format set them apart. Given the prevalence of "big books" in English-medium classrooms, it is somewhat surprising that they have not been published more widely in Gaelic, particularly since contemporary teaching techniques call for the use of "big books" for whole-class lessons, followed by guided reading. This approach is

constrained in Gaelic-medium education due to the lack of resources; teachers hope to see more "big books" made available.

Other significant shortages are in picture books (an average of two per classroom), poetry (one), song (three), and comics (one). These categories of books, while not essential, do provide pupils with a variety of reading experiences and expand their concepts of what a book is. Most classrooms also have at least two or three books in English. Although the majority of school policies dictate the introduction of speaking and reading in English in P3, English books do not appear in quantity in the classrooms until P4 and above, perhaps to encourage the use of Gaelic books as much as possible. Parents indicate that English books are found in the homes of all Gaelic-medium pupils, even if Gaelic is the preferred language of both parents. Johnstone's (1994a: 49) parental survey found that approximately 25% of Gaelic-speaking children independently teach themselves to read English; parental responses to the general questionnaire indicated this as well.

The classrooms studied also differ in how often children are allowed to take books from the class library home, if at all. The reading scheme book, plus any supplementary scheme, is regularly sent home as homework. The companion audiotape may be sent home as well, although this practice is most common in P1 and in areas in which a high proportion of pupils come from a non-Gaelic background. Only two teachers have a regular system in place for sending other books home for children to read either alone or with parental assistance. In one case, the book is part of a "story sack" which includes a tape (if available), a prop related to the story such as a puppet, and a note to parents. Typically one book is sent home per week. Three teachers specifically state that they do not allow books other than the reading scheme to leave the classroom. Considering how rare Gaelic books are in local public libraries, and the inconvenience and expense of purchasing Gaelic children's books, for teachers to adopt such a policy seems counter-productive in encouraging children's reading development.

5.3 - teaching techniques for literacy acquisition

The following sections will discuss the various techniques used by the case-study teachers to teach reading and writing. Where appropriate, reference will be made to other teachers interviewed and to relevant pedagogical theory. The techniques are addressed in essentially the same order that they are used chronologically in the classroom, but are not delineated by their use in P1, P2, or P3 as many techniques are used throughout the early stages of learning to read. Teaching sounds and letter names is usually the first step, followed by the introduction of key words. Pupils then learn strategies for the reading process. Reading aloud in groups or individually is a key feature of the reading programme at this stage. As pupils become more fluent, dictionaries are introduced and spelling and punctuation are emphasised. Throughout, pupils develop their writing skills in conjunction with practising reading.

5.3.1 - learning letters

Two basic decisions determine the teacher's choice for the order and manner in which to introduce letters. One is whether to use the sounds or letter names; the other is whether the pupils' initial knowledge should be only receptive or productive as well. All the case-study teachers prefer to start with the basic sound that the 18 letters used in Gaelic make, as these phonic representations lend themselves most easily to blending and other advanced techniques. Because Gaelic consonants have two or more pronunciations, depending on the flanking vowels and on grammatical context, teachers must select which to introduce first. Beginning with the broad pronunciation is by far the most common, in part because in many cases it is similar to the English pronunciation.

A probable explanation for the initial teaching of sounds rather than letter names is that many English letter names do not correspond well to the sounds of Gaelic; however, school policies dictate that pupils must learn the names as well, and the letter names are usually used for spelling and other

activities from the middle of P2 on. The confusion between the two is most apparent in the vowels, as Gaelic "i" is /i/, while English "e" is called /i/ and "i" is called /ai/. English letter names are used when English is introduced, but even in this context educators and researchers are in disagreement over whether learning sounds or names is more effective in promoting reading development (see section 4.4.2).

How the pupils will use the letters they learn also determines what order the teacher selects. If the initial objective is reading and reading only, those sounds that are most helpful for forming beginning words and that are most regular in their pronunciation will be introduced first. Conversely, if the objective is to teach reading and writing concurrently from the very beginning, teachers prefer to follow the guidelines for letter formation from "Foundations of Writing", a system based on the shapes of the letters. An associated issue whichever method is used is whether to introduce lower case or capital letters first, or indeed simultaneously. This decision is particularly relevant for determining the letter formation method. Children clearly need to learn both forms of letters to read "proper" texts, and the *Storyworlds* reading scheme uses both from the first book onward, although previous schemes such as that produced by Comhairle nan Eilean Siar choose one or the other. All of the case study classrooms begin with lower case letters. One teacher introduces the capital letters while at the same time reviewing the lower case forms.

The phonics element is strong in both the letter and shape methods. Every primary teacher who returned the questionnaire on techniques cited phonics as one of the methods used, with greater than 50% of teachers also utilising the "look-and-say" or sight words approach. Whole language and the language experience approach are also common. The phonics of Gaelic are more straightforward than those of English in several respects: the pronunciation of consonants is usually cued by flanking vowels, most sounds can only be represented by one letter or letter combination, and most effects are adjacent (that is, only letters immediately next to each other influence

pronunciation, unlike the "silent e" in English). However, two major stumbling blocks are the effects of lenition and the distinction between broad and slender consonants. Both affect pronunciation as well as meaning. Long vowels, marked diacritically with a grave accent, are less of a concern as many are explicitly marked or are word-specific. Only two of the seven case-study teachers specify long vowels when spelling aloud for pupils.

Because lenition serves a grammatical purpose, it is hard to avoid in even the simplest sentences. Teachers, however, tend not to introduce the specific sounds of lenited consonants until all the consonants have been learnt thoroughly. Lenition is usually introduced at the same time as blends, which may be misleading to the pupil as both are usually digraphs. Lenited consonants make a single sound and blends, as the name implies, are two or more sounds together. Blends are taught in one classroom in sections according to the second letter. Broad and slender consonants are not split as such in initial teaching. Generally, the broad pronunciation (the most common) is the one taught, and slender versions are dealt with as they arise. Once the child has a sufficient command of letter names and sounds, some teachers mention that an adjacent slender vowel ("e" or "i") affects pronunciation in a certain way. However, the child's familiarity with Gaelic by this point means that this rule has usually been unconsciously mastered, in a similar way to the variable pronunciation of the English plural –s as /s/, /z/, or /əz/, which is not explicitly taught.

The new phonics scheme *Facal is Fuaim*, which was not yet available during the case study, is based on the English *Jolly Phonics* scheme (see section 5.2.1). Teachers were aware that this scheme would be produced and looked forward to using it; some had been introduced to it at the "A' Chuisle 2" conference in March 2004. In essence, the scheme consolidates several earlier methods and will allow for consistency across schools. The resource pack contains:

-a packet and guidebook for the teachers;
-letter and blend cards for the pupils;

-rhymes to go with each sound, usually also involving an action (rather than a character as in current approaches); and
-a CD demonstrating the sounds and rhymes.

The progression of sounds is slightly different from any of the methods currently used in the case-study schools: lenited sounds appear earlier, interspersed with single consonants; blends are grouped by second or third letter; vowel combinations are emphasised; and syllables also are introduced early on. The scheme is produced by experienced educators from Highland Council and is distributed through Stòrlann; it remains to be seen what practical impact it will have on the teaching of Gaelic phonics.

The pace of learning when using the *Facal is Fuaim* scheme is much faster than that currently used in schools: rather than one or two sounds being introduced per week, the scheme recommends nearly one a day. This pace is likely to be too fast for many pupils, especially those new to Gaelic, and teachers as well may have trouble adjusting their methods. At the same time, the sequence and structure provided by the new scheme will be appreciated, and teachers hope to create strong links between the phonics work and reading practice, which are currently felt to be lacking. The scheme also will provide a comprehensive guide for teachers, an essential aspect of any new material but particularly important in this case as the phonics component of the teacher training course is taught only in English.

The *Baile Mhuilinn* video programmes are another popular way to introduce letters and sounds (see section 5.2.3). Series 2 and 3 are particularly phonics oriented. The order of introduction is different from the other methods already discussed. *Baile Mhuilinn* aims to introduce letters and their sounds in a fun way. In series 2, each programme includes: a song and poem about the "letter of the day", a story emphasising words using that letter, and "the magic pencil" that shows how to write the letter. Goals of this series include increasing pupils' knowledge of songs and poetry, demonstrating the link between letter and sound, and developing reading and writing skills. Series 3 continues in a similar manner, although the sounds are lenited sounds and

blends. The sounds are demonstrated at both the beginning and ends of words, and words are presented on the screen for pupils to read. Listening skills are also emphasised.

Learning letters is not completed in P1. Significant revision is necessary, particularly at the beginning of P2 after a summer away from school work, and, for many pupils, away from Gaelic. In some units, lenited sounds and blends are not introduced at all in P1, and even in P3 pupils are not absolutely confident with these sounds. The slender pronunciation of consonants is also challenging. As with many other aspects of reading, more practice results in better performance. Teachers therefore continue to emphasise letter learning throughout P2 and P3, utilising a variety of methods to maintain children's interest, such as games, worksheets, and recognition exercises (see Appendix B for a description of a lesson).

5.3.2 - key words

Once pupils have reliably mastered a significant proportion of letters and can identify them by sound or name, even if they cannot yet produce them independently, the teacher begins to build a sight vocabulary of key words. While sight vocabulary is not a long-term reading strategy, as it can only be built to 50 or 100 words (Chall 1967: 141), the P1 case-study teachers use it to build pupils' confidence and motivation. "Sight reading" means that words are not analysed phonically or through context, but instead are immediately recognised based on features such as length, initial and final letters, and accompanying illustrations. The first key words taught tend to be common words with which pupils are familiar. They are also likely to be concrete or tangible content words rather than function words. Most of the key words in autumn-term P1 are taken from *Storyworlds*. The illustrations in the books are used both to define words and to give contextual support.

Most teachers check their pupils' progress using flashcards or word grids, although individual technique varies. Word grids, in which key words are

presented in a five-by-five chart, are more common with older pupils who are accustomed to smaller fonts and linear progression in reading. Flashcards may be used in whole-class or one-on-one activities. Some teachers give each child an individual tin with the words from the current reading scheme book and go through these daily. At the end of the week, if the child has successfully identified the words, they are discarded or returned to the teacher and new words are distributed. Words that are causing difficulty are carried over for another week. One teacher colour-codes the word cards for each book so that progress through the scheme is even easier to follow. In one classroom, a "wordmaster" machine, which plays a magnetic recording of the word on the flashcard, is used for independent review of key words. This teacher also creates PowerPoint® presentations of word lists for pupils to work through. Flashcards are used for sets of common words such as the days of the week and of months, the symbols and names of numbers, and question words. However, it is important to not place too much emphasis on word recognition in isolation. Pupils often perform better when reading connected sentences as they can use context for support (Weaver 1988: 91).

The display of key words throughout the classroom helps children recognise them quickly, as well as familiarising them with common spelling patterns in Gaelic. Word lists are often a part of the "reading wall" or "writing wall". Weekly spelling words may be displayed in P2 and P3 (see section 5.3.6.1 and Appendix B). The grouping of words may be by topics, by words drawn from a particular story, by word class, or by orthographic or phonic features. The level and type of words displayed are dependent on the progress of the class, and therefore change throughout the year. In three of the case-study classrooms, the pupils can remove words from the list and take them to their seat to be copied into a worksheet or jotter as required. The pupil's knowledge of the word will be reinforced both by the finding and the writing of the word and some of the teacher's valuable time will be freed to help other pupils. To be effective, a word wall of this type must be introduced first by the teacher and

reviewed regularly before pupils can be expected to use it independently as a resource.

Another teacher uses Post-it® notes as a teaching aid. When a pupil asks for the spelling of a word, she writes it out on a Post-it® and gives it to the pupil who then sticks it into his or her jotter and copies it down. Words for more general use, such as those relating to the lesson being taught, are written on the main board so that all pupils can see them. Three of the teachers use this latter technique, and in P3 classrooms have pupils copy these words into their jotters. In one classroom, pupils write each word twice. This reinforcement aids future recognition in a way similar to searching for a word to copy.

In addition to the key words from *Storyworlds*, teachers display both exceedingly common words and irregular words that are likely to cause problems. Irregular words in particular are likely to be grouped by sound, whether this is by initial letter or a segment such as *–aidh*. The irregularity can arise from phonic details or from grammatical forms such as the past tense of verbs. Spelling tests, which may be introduced in P2 and become common from P3 onward, also have a mix of common and irregular words. One of the challenges is that, as in English, many of the most common words are themselves irregular, especially in light of the initial pronunciation rules taught. Some of these words include *leughadh, leabhar, ann, dubh,* and *reamhar* ("reading, book, in, black, fat"). Teachers in the case-study schools utilise some innovative ways of reinforcing the spelling of these irregular or difficult words. "Word wheels" are used in two classrooms for words with matching initial letters or other segments. One teacher uses a web diagram for similar words. Groupings in word lists also contribute to remembering challenging words.

When new vocabulary is introduced, whether in the course of reading a new story or addressing a new topic, teachers use varying approaches to define the words. The most striking difference among case-study teachers is in the

use of English versus Gaelic in the definitions. These differences are most apparent when vocabulary acquisition is spontaneous (that is, when a pupil has a question about a particular word) rather than in the course of a lesson focused on vocabulary. All the case-study classrooms claim to utilise immersion techniques, the premise of which is the exclusive use of the target language, in this case Gaelic. However, two teachers tend to give English equivalents when asked about the meaning of the word; these teachers also accept English from their pupils as a definition. At the other end of the spectrum are teachers who discourage this behaviour, and instead give definitions and equivalents in Gaelic and expect the same from their pupils. This latter approach is more effective in expanding the pupils' vocabulary as they learn relationships between words. Using Gaelic only also ensures that they are not relying too much on their knowledge of English. The use of body language is another technique used in defining words, especially those for which an action is particularly relevant, such as verbs and prepositions. One teacher has pupils use numbered puppets to visually represent maths vocabulary, such as ordering, "before" and "after", and sums with their solutions.

Discussion of new words also serves to strengthen associations and encourage the acquisition of the words as active rather than passive knowledge. Similarly, recently introduced words are reviewed frequently to help make them permanent acquisitions rather than tied to a single lesson. In one classroom, the teacher gives each word in the context of a sentence, which is repeated by pupils. The pupils are also instructed to say the word each time they write it. The selection of words to be learnt is of critical importance. Key words alone are not enough. Words related to current classroom themes or projects will have many applications, and words that help children talk about topics of interest to them are usually learnt well. The issue of vocabulary development is especially relevant when the majority of pupils are learners of the language. Much support is necessary for these children to attain a suitably sized vocabulary; reading is of central importance (see section 4.3.3).

5.3.3 - strategies for pupils

Once pupils have mastered letter identification and have a sight vocabulary of 15-20 words, the focus turns to teaching word attack skills. These efforts are aimed toward providing pupils with strategies for reading the new and unknown words that will soon dominate their reading:

> As the purpose of classroom texts shifts from one of learning to read to one of reading to learn, children will increasingly encounter words they do not recognise in contexts that do not help (M. Adams 1994: 850).

The approach or method that the teacher uses for overall literacy instruction will determine what skills he or she introduces first. Phonics is by far the most popular method, used by all the case-study teachers and the majority of other teachers questioned, and so discussion here will emphasise the phonics method and related techniques.

5.3.3.1 - word attack skills

Most word attack skills fall into two categories: either breaking the word into constituent parts (segmenting) or combining parts into a whole word (blending). The latter approach is generally introduced first, when words are short and relatively simple. Children with a strong awareness of the sounds of Gaelic, and how these sounds are linked to the letters, will be most successful. The regularity of Gaelic phoneme-grapheme correspondence and spelling also makes the blending approach effective. However, since lenited consonants (*bh, mh, th, sh*, etc.) and blends and clusters (*cl, tr, sn*, etc.) are generally not formally introduced until P2, these combinations may cause problems. Additionally, as mentioned above (section 5.3.1), primary teachers do not initially differentiate between broad and slender consonants.

Children tend to use the initial letter as the most significant cue to what the word is, followed by the final letter, and then the shape of the word (McGuinness 2004: 192). When the reading vocabulary is small, it may be

possible to differentiate words on the basis of initial letters, but this strategy does not work for long. Learning to attend to all the components of the word requires specific instruction. Five of the teachers in the case study favour the teaching of blending and phoneme stretching for word identification (see Appendix B for how these techniques are used in a case-study classroom). Both skills involve pronouncing each letter's sound individually before combining them. These methods do not cope well with lenition and clusters unless these are treated as a single sound, which again must be explicitly taught. In phoneme stretching, as the term suggests, each sound is elongated, then spoken more and more rapidly in succession until the word is identified. The goal of both approaches is to allow pupils to deal with unrecognised or unknown words; were either method to be used for all words, reading would be painstakingly slow and meaningless.

For more complex words, especially multi-syllabic ones, segmenting is the preferred technique. In two classrooms, segmenting is made physically explicit by the teacher using her thumbs or fingers to show small elements of words. There is still a reference to blending, however, as separate components must be identified correctly and then combined. The two main methods of segmenting are syllabification and searching for "little words", that is, segments such as *an, am, ann, le, is*, and so forth that are words in their own right and are already easily recognised by the pupil. Pupils tend to prefer looking for little words, but teachers emphasise syllabification as the word is attacked in linear order rather than sporadically. As in English, some words lend themselves more easily to syllabification than others. Epenthetic vowels pose a special challenge for both teachers and pupils; most teachers choose not to count these as separate syllables. Children can be exposed to syllabification early in P1 long before they will use it as a reading technique. Clapping out each syllable in long words, such as their own names or the days of the week, attunes them better to the sounds and rhythms of the language, and is a common activity in three of the case-study classrooms.

Searching for "little words" is related to the technique of analogy. A pupil needs a relatively large reading vocabulary to use this technique effectively, as it requires familiarity with many words to be able to match significant segments. The use of analogy is therefore often reserved for older pupils (Thompson 1997: 15). Analogy is the basis for the inane "the f-at c-at s-at on the m-at" type sentences, although it is not as prevalent in Gaelic as in English. Analogy has a foundation in rhyme and is similarly based on segments, the principle being that if a child recognises *ùr*, "new", he or she should also be able to recognise *flùr*, "flower", as they differ only in the addition of the blend *fl-* to the segment and word *ùr*. These groups of similar words are sometimes referred to as "word families" and teachers may choose to explicitly teach segments such as *-aidh* or *-ich* (especially ones that are phonically difficult) to expand on this skill. There is no official list for these difficult sounds, but the lists in the case-study classrooms overlap to a large degree.

Other word attack skills are delayed until readers are more capable, including skills that are not required (or desirable) when reading the easiest books. These skills are directed at helping the pupil identify unknown words that he or she has never encountered before. The least helpful instruction is simply to skip the word in question. The teacher may intend for the pupil to use context to grasp the meaning of the word, but unless he or she makes this explicit the children will rapidly adopt a strategy of skipping any word that gives them trouble. This method may also make pupils overly reliant on the teacher for supplying answers, as was observed in two case-study classrooms.

Context is the best means of making an educated guess at unknown words, but using context effectively must be taught. One teacher provides a summary of the story before pupils read it so that they have an idea of what to expect in terms of plot and vocabulary. Illustrations are a special kind of context, but again, pupils should be cautioned against becoming too reliant on this strategy as the support of illustrations gradually diminishes as stories become more dependent on using text. The change in proportion of illustration

to text and the increase in text per story are clearly demonstrated by the reading scheme *Storyworlds*. Four of the case-study teachers emphasise the use of illustrations to identify unknown words, particularly nouns. The illustrations in the early levels of the reading scheme also provide additional information not present in the text, and so children must attend to both illustration and text in order to grasp the full meaning of the story.

5.3.3.2 - the metalanguage of literacy

Teachers need to be cognisant of their use of terms related to reading, or the metalanguage of literacy, throughout the teaching of word attack skills. In the early stages of learning to read it is helpful and in some cases necessary for teachers to define and demonstrate words such as "title", "author", and so forth. The level of support needed depends on the background experience of children and their exposure to books in the home. Defining literary terminology is even more crucial in Gaelic-medium education as children may be familiar with the concepts, but not the related vocabulary in both of their languages. In particular, terms such as "word" and "sentence" are often only vaguely understood by young children (Weinenburger *et al.* 1990: 17). Considering the central role these terms have in classroom directions, they must be clearly defined and frequently reviewed to check understanding. Knowing the names and shapes of numbers and understanding the concept of their use is also important early on, since teachers use page numbers frequently in directions.

The easiest way to teach the metalanguage of literacy is through direct interaction with books, and through discussion of the reading process. The case-study teachers do this very effectively. In the natural context of a reading lesson, whether the teacher or the pupil does the bulk of the reading, the teacher emphasises the reading of the title, author, and illustrator. She checks to make sure pupils following along are on the right page, and if they use their fingers, that they are on the right word. Only one teacher emphasises the use of the table of contents at this early stage. Four of the teachers also explicitly ask pupils to identify the features of a book such as the author or title. Much

of this kind of instruction is done in a light-hearted game-like fashion, similar to that used when playing "I Spy" or rhyming games, which are also intended to develop vocabulary.

In a broader perspective, teachers also introduce such words and concepts as "character", "plot", and "setting" early on. These concepts help pupils to begin to recognise common themes and the structure of stories. Such early literary analysis also emphasises the different levels of reading, encouraging pupils to go beyond a word-by-word or page-by-page focus. In one classroom, visual support is used effectively for teaching these concepts: dramas are created from stories using cut-out figures and the pupils re-enact the story. Because the higher-level concepts of story structure are quite abstract, such tangible activities reinforce their meaning.

5.3.3.3 - reading groups

In five of the seven case-study classrooms, children are divided into reading groups after the initial stages of instruction. Teachers make the decision on whether and how to form reading groups on the basis of several factors, including the overall size of class (group reading when more than 5 pupils are involved gives each little opportunity for individual practice and attention), the differences in ability among pupils, and the availability of classroom assistants. Ability is the main consideration in determining reading groups, and so in composite classes the groups may cross age and class lines; this is the case in two case-study classrooms. The purpose of the reading group is to give each child targeted help at the level at which he or she is functioning; unfortunately, no matter what clever names the teacher may give to each group, the children soon pick up on who is in the fast group and who is in the slow group (see Appendix B for an example). According to HM Inspectors of Schools (1998: 11), "learning to read in attainment groups allow[s] pupils to share the enjoyment of books and stories and develop their proficiency in reading as a social and co-operative activity."

The division of classes into two to four reading groups means that pupils in the same class are at different levels of *Storyworlds*. Most teachers effectively use the time with each group, but in two classrooms the groups not being directly supervised tend to stray off task. One teacher uses a classroom assistant with reading groups in order to maintain focus. In three classrooms, there is one pupil who is significantly ahead of the rest of the class who would probably benefit from more challenging work. At the same time, the ability of these advanced pupils is recognised by their peers, and they are often asked to help with reading tasks.

Groups are also used for other types of classroom work, and the majority of teachers make an effort to divide the children into different groups for these exercises rather than keeping the organisation used during reading lessons. HMIE (2005) reports that "teachers often used the good practice of varying the organisation of learning groups so that work could be pitched at appropriate levels to consolidate and extend learning." A much greater tendency toward mixed-ability groups is evident in science, maths, and discussion groups. It is likely that some of the pupils struggling with literacy acquisition would benefit from being placed at least occasionally in a reading group with more confident and fluent readers.

5.3.4 - reading aloud

Hearing stories read aloud is one of the most significant factors in later reading success (see section 4.2.2). In the early stages of learning to read, reading aloud takes precedence over any other technique, whether it is the teacher or the pupils who do the reading. The teacher reading aloud is the best example that pupils will have of the skill that they are acquiring, as he or she makes a special effort to enunciate and entice, and is reading the same sort of material that they are. Over half of teachers interviewed said they read aloud (or told stories) five to ten times a week; that is, once a day or more. However, observation of the case-study classrooms did not always substantiate the stated frequency; it is likely that stories are one of the first items to be

eliminated when time is pressing. Audiotapes are sometimes used as a substitute for the teacher, particularly when no classroom assistant is available. Even once pupils have begun to read independently in P2, teachers still read stories aloud that are above the reading level of the class, and continue to model interest, enthusiasm, and a good reading voice. One case-study classroom achieved this by using levels of the *Storyworlds* reading scheme significantly beyond those that pupils were using.

Reading aloud by pupils is probably the most widely recognised feature of the primary classroom. Most pupils are unable to read silently until late P2, and indeed may not conceive of being able to do so. This characteristic is evident in the case-study classrooms: when young pupils are asked to read silently, they often whisper or mouth the words. One teacher encourages her pupils to read "in their heads" before vocalising. Although reading aloud is almost universally introduced first, Frank Smith (1988: 27) claims that "oral reading is more complex and difficult than silent reading"; at the same time, Gray (1969: 49) states that "many poor readers tend to comprehend slightly better when reading orally, whereas most good readers tend to comprehend much better when reading silently." Reading aloud allows the teacher to check the child's progress, gently correct errors, and be directly involved the child's interaction with the material. One teacher explicitly encourages a good reading-aloud voice, emphasising clarity, volume, pacing, and expression. Another emphasises that the goal of reading aloud should be to be "fluent and lively with no stops."

As mentioned above, reading groups of some sort are used in five classrooms; in the other two classrooms, the division is solely by class. Most reading, therefore, is done as part of this mostly static group. How teachers approach this task, however, varies significantly. The major distinction in the techniques used for reading aloud is between choral and individual reading. In choral reading, all pupils read at the same time; they may or may not be accompanied by the teacher. Whether the teacher decides to read along seems

to be a matter of personal preference rather than a decision based on the age or ability of the pupils or the difficulty of the text. Some of the advantages of choral reading are that it does not put undue pressure on shy or struggling children and that pupils learn about pacing and phrasing; disadvantages include the tendency of two or three children to "carry" the rest and inattention to the text by many. Choral reading is more common in P1 than at later stages, likely due to the wide range of ability and the need for extra support. Paired reading is a compromise between choral and individual reading in which pupils of different levels interact and help each other. This method is most effective in composite classrooms, although one single-year class with a range of ability does make good use of this technique.

Individual reading may proceed in a defined order such as round-robin fashion, that is, circularly around the table or classroom, or may be sporadic, with the teacher calling on pupils in random order. Individual reading is common in the early stages of literacy instruction when ability varies greatly. Children quickly learn how to predict "their" page in round-robin reading, and may ignore the efforts of their peers. At the same time, round-robin reading better conserves the flow of the story. Individual reading gives the teacher a much clearer impression of strengths and weaknesses, but is more time-consuming and can be excruciating for shy children. Most teachers, therefore, attempt a mix of the two methods, using choral reading for repeated phrases or the first page, and then progressing with individual reading. Unfortunately, even with the help of classroom assistants, teachers often do not have time to listen to each child read alone on a daily basis. Case-study teachers make good efforts in this regard.

While the pupils read aloud, the teacher is performing several different tasks. The first and most obvious task is to listen for miscues. Conversely, the teacher may choose to concentrate on the pupils' fluency and expressive reading. Two of the case-study teachers regularly take notes on pupils' performance and progress. Another task is to prompt at hesitations. The case-

study teachers have varying preferences with respect to how much information they provide: some give initial letters only, some guide the pupil through sounding out the word, and some supply the word immediately. The choice of approach is usually linked to the underlying method of teaching, although two teachers take the perceived ability of the struggling pupil into consideration. At the very early stages of teaching reading, and in some classrooms to cover new material, the teacher may read out a whole sentence or page for pupils to echo. While such modelling does give pupils a sense of the overall phrasing and meaning, they may simply repeat the words without linking them to the text on the page. Reading aloud is not restricted to the reading scheme and children's books. Pupils are also encouraged to read the directions in the maths scheme and on worksheets aloud in two classrooms; in other classrooms, especially in P1, the teacher reads the directions, although in some cases the pupils are capable of doing so.

Many teachers ensure that the pupils are following along correctly and have a firmly established sense of the left-to-right nature of reading in Gaelic and English by encouraging pointing. Initially, the teacher may use a pen or her finger to point to words for the pupil to say, but the pupil soon takes over. One teacher uses a bookmark for line-by-line reading with P3 pupils, who need less support and direction than younger pupils. Pointing is used consistently in three classrooms and sporadically in two others. Pointing helps to mark the place, to progress correctly through several lines of text, and to focus on word-by-word recognition (M. Adams (1990)). Once the pupils have acquired a level of confidence and speed, pointing should be phased out, as the eyes move faster than the hand and pointing may slow the child down; the word-by-word recognition necessary at the beginning prevents phrasal reading in later stages. In two of the P3 classrooms observed, the teachers discourage pointing for these reasons.

5.3.5 - writing

Two-thirds of the teachers who responded to questionnaires state that they teach reading and writing concurrently. This trend runs counter to the previously prevalent method of sequential introduction of skills (as discussed in section 4.4.5: listening → speaking → reading → writing). In this sequence, there is also a division between the passive skills of listening and reading and the active skills of speaking and writing. Yet teachers are becoming more aware of the mutual benefits brought about by developing both sets of skills at the same time. The pupils' own writing (including the use of the teacher as scribe in the early stages) is the basis for the language experience approach. In the case-study classrooms, even autumn-term P1 pupils were expected to do some writing.

Writing proper begins with letter formation to ensure legible and consistent handwriting. Drawing and other precision activities are used even in the *sgoil àraich* to promote fine motor skills. Some schools base their entire introduction to phonics on principles of letter formation (see section 5.3.1). The act of writing individual letters can reinforce children's perceptions of their sounds. All of the teachers in the case-study classrooms took great care with the initial teaching of letters, as proper formation will allow pupils to increase the speed of writing and decrease the size of individual letters as the need for writing grows. Moreover, careful attention to the components and orientation of letters helps to prevent confusion between similar letters such as *b/d/p/q* and *m/n/h*. By writing the letters rather than just identifying them by sight, pupils become increasingly familiar with these subtle differences.

While all case-study teachers teach the same formation of letters, based on "Foundations of Writing", their methods of teaching vary. There is no published scheme for handwriting in Gaelic, and therefore even the verbal descriptions that teachers use for letter formation are not consistent; surprisingly, neither are there established terms in English schemes for terminology related to letter formation (Walker 1997: 103). Two teachers show

great creativity when it comes to teaching writing. In one classroom, pupils use a variety of tactile methods to learn the letter, including a "roll 'n' write" template with marbles, moulding with plasticine, tracing, magnetic letters, writing with a finger in the air, writing with a finger on a friend's back, dry-erase boards, and different pens and pencils on paper. Given the variety in the exercises and media used, the pupils in this classroom are less likely to become bored with the repetition required to master letter formation. In the other exemplary classroom, the methods used are more traditional: copying from a teacher example written directly in a lined jotter, copying from the board, and writing lines of a single letter. The teacher constantly circulates throughout the exercise, guiding pupils' hands where necessary and giving encouragement. Examples of good work are displayed in the classroom, and as a result the motivation to do well is high.

The issue of copying letters and sentences concerns many teachers. In some ways copying can be a mindless activity, during which children do not attend to detail and meaning. Nevertheless, copying from the jotter or the board is used in most classrooms because of the limitations on the teacher's time and the quantity of practice needed to develop fluent handwriting. In P1 classrooms, pupils often copy their own names from labels at their desks. If copying is to be used, it is best for the teacher to speak as she writes, thus using her written model to demonstrate good writing habits. Copying from the board can be difficult for young children, especially if more than one word is to be copied. The concept of sequencing and spacing is not yet firmly established, and the constant glancing from jotter to board can add to the confusion. For P1 pupils, teachers may instead write directly in the jotter; pupils then copy out the writing below. In one case-study classroom, P1 pupils are not allowed to use rubbers, thus enabling the teacher to see what errors are being made throughout the writing process.

Copying is a more effective teaching technique than tracing, as it requires the pupils to carefully analyse and then recreate letter shapes and

sequences, although tracing can be beneficial for pupils struggling with certain letters. Like copying, tracing can become somewhat of a mindless activity and it is therefore used infrequently in case-study classrooms. Using the teacher as a scribe, another common method in the initial stages of teaching writing, may at first seem counter-productive as the pupils do not benefit from physical practice. However, pupils can become discouraged when their writing (and spelling) cannot keep pace with their thoughts. By writing messages for the pupils or scribing the captions for drawings, the teacher helps them realise the purpose of writing, and, in fact, promotes its development. Some children, more often boys, simply take longer to master the physical skills necessary for clear handwriting (Wilkinson 2003: 161). In many cases, the use of a computer word-processing program helps alleviate frustration. Since children at this stage can usually recognise letters even if they cannot form them reliably, typing can be a much faster way for them to express their thoughts. Even in the P1 case-study classrooms, pupils are adept at using computers and by the spring are capable of independently typing short sentences.

Free writing is the next logical step in teaching the writing process. "Free writing" has two connotations: one is writing without a visual model, and the other is writing on topics freely chosen rather than responses to pre-set questions. To succeed with either kind of free writing, pupils must have a fairly firm grasp of letter formation. Stopping frequently to check letter shapes interrupts the thought processes necessary to write sentences. Some familiarity with spelling is also necessary for effective free writing. As with other early writing activities, an understanding of the many uses of writing such as note-taking, list making, story composition, and so forth is essential for pupils' motivation.

In the case-study classrooms, teachers have quite different attitudes toward spelling. Some insist that every letter and accent be correct, while others allow "invented spelling" as long as the letters approximate the correct sounds and the child can read back what he or she has written. Mastering

other conventions of print such as spacing and consistent left-to-right movement in multiple-line texts is also emphasised at this stage. Complexity in vocabulary, syntax, and length of text develops naturally. In order to write and spell well, the pupil must have good examples to follow, providing a further reason to expose children to numerous books from a young age. Although some of the more complex features of Gaelic such as lenition, flanking consonants, and accented vowels are targeted in reading, these are not stressed in the pupils' own early writing so as not to overwhelm and discourage the pupils with details.

As with other aspects of literacy, different pupils develop competence in writing with variable ease and speed. Group work can be beneficial when pupils are at different levels; one pupil can act as scribe while the others tackle different tasks. Writing is necessarily an individual pursuit, but having pupils share with others what they have written is essential. In one P3 classroom, stories are shared on a weekly basis, within the class as well as with other classes, and a "star writer" receives special distinction. Some features of writing such as handwriting will be idiosyncratic throughout their lives. At the primary level, the basics are emphasised and legibility is key. The teacher as model must be sure that his or her handwriting meets the standards set for pupils. Case-study teachers also introduce school conventions such as writing the pupil's name and the date on each piece of work early on. Displaying the written work of pupils, from letter formation to book reviews, encourages pupils to take pride in neat and meaningful work.

5.3.6 - reference use

As pupils gain the ability to read and write independently, teachers introduce resources such as dictionaries to assist pupils. Although the overall number of commercial reference works in classrooms is low (see section 5.2.4.5), the case-study teachers use a variety of methods, including personal word lists and wall displays, to help pupils build vocabulary and learn the conventions of written language. Issues such as spelling and punctuation are a

focus from early in P1, and continue to be developed throughout primary schooling. Both the types of reference works used and the techniques for doing so vary across classrooms.

5.3.6.1 - spelling

Spelling is often taught in conjunction with writing, although, as mentioned above, teachers place varying importance on spelling as a skill in the early stages of learning to write. In P1, spelling is part of word recognition. Because pupils are not usually expected to write independently in the early stages, but rather copy from the board or the teachers' scribing, early spelling errors can usually be attributed to difficulties with letter formation. By late P2, pupils are required to spell correctly in their own writing, although they are still encouraged to make use of environmental print and books as models. Teachers may introduce dictionaries very early on, but pupils are generally not expected to use them as a resource independently until mid-P3. The use of personal vocabulary or dictionary jotters contributes greatly to spelling development as these words are both relevant and easily accessible to the individual pupil.

The teaching of spelling is often a part of reading and writing lessons. Some teachers do not address spelling explicitly. They encourage their pupils to pay particular attention to the details of words, such as the difference between the definite article forms *am*, *an*, and *an t-*; to accented vowels; and to patterns in words. This type of instruction also contributes to pupils' reading development as it reinforces common letter combinations that are then more easily recognised. Gaelic's regular spelling system lends itself well to pupils' "invented spellings", which tend to be closer to the correct version than English equivalents would be. Three different approaches are taken in the case-study classrooms when a pupil asks for the spelling of a word. One is to simply supply it using sounds or letters in concordance with classroom practice, a second is to remind the child to look at the word wall or a dictionary, and a third is to encourage him or her to "sound it out". These three techniques often

correspond to the teacher's choice of how to define vocabulary (see section 5.3.2). Of these approaches, the last technique of sounding the word out is most common, although referencing a model becomes more prevalent in the upper levels.

Spelling tests are not usually introduced until P3. By this stage, pupils have a sufficient and rapidly growing sight vocabulary and are developing strong phonics skills; they also have read enough and been exposed to enough words to have some grasp of common spelling patterns. In P3, pupils are typically tested once a week on 5-8 words. Teachers' approaches to testing vary, including one classroom in which the words remain posted on the word wall during the spelling test, but pupils cope well with all methods. Attitudes toward spelling in their own writing vary more by individual personality than by any teacher-enforced rules.

Spelling in Gaelic-medium primary classrooms does not receive the same emphasis as it does in English-medium instruction, in part because the language still has an oral bias and in part because there is still some uncertainty over correct forms. The revisions of the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (GOC) by the Scottish Qualifications Authority in November 2005 may help to alleviate this lack of clarity[8], although the limited success of the original Conventions in this regard is disheartening. The document was intended to "remove the inconsistencies, indecisions and minor irritations that arise from the absence of a firmly defined standard" (Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board 1981: 3). However, even at the time the Conventions were introduced, it was acknowledged that there were deficiencies and flaws (e.g. *ibid.* 5, 14), the most important being the lack of comprehensiveness. Not all of the forms and rules recommended in GOC are applied consistently. As Grant (1996) points out, the extent to which the education system conforms to established standards of usage varies widely and is largely dependent on the individual teacher.

[8] These revisions did not take place until after the case study had been completed and so any resulting effects could not be observed.

5.3.6.2 - dictionaries

The use of dictionaries is part of the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14 and therefore is taught in all the case-study classrooms. Commercial dictionaries are found in each classroom. Two classrooms have all seven of the available primary dictionaries, although most have only three or fewer. Teacher preference greatly impacts how dictionaries are actually referenced. Some teachers suggest looking up words whenever difficulty is encountered; others recommend using context for meaning and "sounding out" for spelling. Dictionaries can be over-used, leading to a lack of confidence in the pupil and little writing produced, or under-used, resulting in an inadequate grasp of spelling and limited awareness of multiple connotations or meanings. Jenkinson (1973: 44) suggests the development of three main skills in using a dictionary: location, pronunciation, and meaning.

The term "dictionary" can be somewhat misleading in describing the reference works for words found in primary classrooms (see section 5.2.5). Four are labelling dictionaries, which consist entirely of pictures from which certain items are extracted and named. This type of dictionary tends to be quite popular in P1 and P2, and is helpful at these early stages because little actual reading is required. Once a pupil finds a picture of the item he or she is wishing to name, he or she simply copies the print below it. The labelling dictionaries, *Dealbh is Facal* (Acair & Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (1987)) in particular, are useful for browsing and certainly contribute to vocabulary development. The concept of such dictionaries is extended into classroom activities in which children are asked to label and colour pictures, for example the parts of an insect's body.

Na Facail (Acair) is intended for more advanced pupils. It is the simplest of the alphabetised dictionaries, consisting of lists of words under letter headings. *Na Facail* is mainly used for spelling and writing practice; there are spaces in which pupils can add their own words, and so individual copies of the book are usually distributed. No illustrations, definitions, examples of

usage, or parts of speech (noun, verb, adjective, etc.) are given, although some alternate forms such as plurals or verbal nouns are included to illustrate spelling.

Only two reference works suitable for primary schools fit the common perception of a dictionary. These are *Brìgh nam Facal* (Cox (1991)) and *Mo Chiad Fhaclair* (PRG & Acair (1996)). Both incorporate alphabetical order (not usually taught until toward the end of P2, even though reciting the alphabet is a common activity), gender and part of speech, multiple definitions, and examples of usage. *Mo Chiad Fhaclair* is more child-friendly and has coloured illustrations. *Brìgh nam Facal* has been criticised for its abstruse definitions (Moray Watson 1999: 48). It is rare to see pupils below P3 making use of these dictionaries. In one P3 classroom, pupils use initial sounds alone to look up words, and so simpler dictionaries are preferable. Due to insufficiencies in all of the primary dictionaries, copies of adult dictionaries such as Dwelly (12th ed. 2001), Watson (2001), or Mark (2004), are often found in the classroom, and are sometimes used with teacher guidance.

Behavioural modelling by the teacher is an essential component of primary education, especially when the behaviour to be learnt does not come naturally. Observing the teacher referencing a dictionary demonstrates to pupils that they should not be ashamed if they do not know the meaning or spelling of a particular word (see Appendix B for examples of modelling). Pupils can be helped to appreciate the uses of a dictionary if each has an individual word jotter as described in section 5.3.2 on vocabulary. One teacher uses a *leabhar smuaintean* ("book of thoughts") for brainstorming thematic vocabulary, which is made available for writing tasks. In the same classroom, jotters for P3 pupils are divided by word class. Reference skills continue to be developed throughout primary and secondary school, but a solid understanding of their purpose is an essential starting point.

5.3.6.3 – punctuation and diacritics

Once pupils have grasped the basics of writing and spelling, they must learn to attend to details. Perhaps the most important of these is punctuation. Most teachers put some emphasis on these concepts throughout P1, for example by using coloured chalk for punctuation and capitalisation when writing on the board. Much of this teaching is incidental and incorporated into other lessons. By the time a pupil is writing in full sentences, he or she is expected to use capitalisation and full stops appropriately. Linking words, such as *ach*, "but", and *agus*, "and", are also introduced to diversify pupils' writing.

In the first three years of primary school, the use of punctuation in pupils' own writing is somewhat restricted. Although pupils may be exposed to quotation marks and colons in their reading, they are not expected to use them. The order of introduction for punctuation in the case-study classrooms is usually full stop, question mark, exclamation point, and comma. Teachers stress the importance of punctuation in multiple ways. Coloured chalk, as mentioned above, is a type of modelling. One teacher uses a highlighter on correct punctuation in the pupils' writing jotters; another encourages pupils to point out capitals and full stops during whole-class reading. Both recognising and writing punctuation marks are emphasised.

As with spelling, pupils become more familiar with punctuation conventions the more they read and write. Young children are not expected to use all punctuation marks correctly at the beginning. Over time they are expected to move toward an accurate approximation of adult usage. The same is true for capitalisation: while pupils grasp quite quickly that a sentence starts with a capital letter, using capitals for names and other proper nouns generally comes later. Although pupils learn from the beginning to capitalise their own names, the use of capital letters in other contexts is more difficult to master. Some pupils are observed to over-generalise, always capitalising *tha*, "is", and *bha*, "was" as these verbs occur so frequently sentence-initially (due

to Gaelic being a VSO, or verb-subject-object, language). Having good models in books contributes to development in this skill area.

Gaelic provides its own specific challenges in terms of punctuation, some of which are not yet fully resolved even amongst publishing companies. The Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (revised 2005) do provide some guidance in this regard. One particular challenge is accents, which mark vowel length, although there are words with long vowels that do not have accents. Teachers are certainly not infallible when it comes to the correct use of accents. Even dictionaries can vary in their recommendations for accent use, although the more common words are generally well-established. The introduction of accents is not addressed in the phonics material, although pronunciation is affected, which can lead to confusion between minimal pairs. Only one case-study teacher teaches the accented vowels separately, and only she and one other teacher include accents when spelling aloud. In one classroom the teacher was never seen to write an accent. The assumption may be that pupils will become familiar with which words need accents through exposure to text. This haphazard approach only compounds the uncertainty of when an accent is necessary.

The use of apostrophes, hyphens, and spacing is also not consistent among teachers and, therefore, pupils across case-study classrooms perform differently with regard to these diacritics. Although the Conventions provide recommendations for the use of these marks, the suggestions may not always be followed, even in commercially published material. Dialectal idiosyncrasies can affect these features as well, since many are intended to reflect pronunciation. Elision, in which a word-final vowel is dropped when followed by a word that is vowel-initial, is particularly confusing for primary pupils who are learners.

A further challenge more specifically tied to learning to read and write is that authors may choose to add apostrophes to signify dropped sounds, somewhat similar to their use in English. Although pupils learn the phrase *a*

tha ann, "is there", as the full form, this phrase may appear in print as such or as the abbreviated forms *a th' ann* or *a th'ann* (demonstrating a question of both apostrophe use and spacing) to show that the vowel of *tha* is usually elided due to the following adjacent vowel as described above. Even the very common *is e*, "it is", is variable, from *is e* (the full form) to *'s e* or *'se* or simply *se*. Pupils in P1 may struggle with spacing even between full words; one teacher instructs pupils to put a finger space between each word. Models for other spacing such as in the examples above are not consistent and teachers are reluctant to be didactic in teaching forms (or may not be confident in their own language knowledge), so it may be difficult for children to determine which to use. Consistency in the early stages helps learning and minimises confusion, for punctuation as well as spelling.

5.3.6.4 – other reference works

Dictionaries are not the only reference with which pupils must become familiar. They must also learn how to use a thesaurus, an atlas, an encyclopaedia, and internet search engines. These skills take time and practice to acquire, but can be introduced early through simplified resources. Once again, however, the limited availability of resources in Gaelic poses an impediment to development. The only thesaurus, *Dòigh Eile air a Ràdh*, compiled by D.I. MacLeòid (2000), is intended for secondary school pupils; its layout is non-traditional, using word cluster diagrams rather than lists. Only one atlas and one world map are available in Gaelic. There are no grammars suitable for primary-age children. Few Gaelic websites are suitable for teaching and educational reference, although the BBC is expanding this area. Teachers can paste-over the names on maps and provide translations of online articles, but this does not give pupils the experience of using a reference work in the way in which it was intended. If these skills are not developed in Gaelic at this stage, they cannot be transferred to English in the upper primary levels, thus putting Gaelic-medium pupils at a disadvantage.

5.3.7 - marking pupils' progress

As teachers guide their pupils through the difficult early stages of learning to read and write, they continually keep track of the progress of each individual pupil. Different teachers use different methods. Some take detailed notes while others do not write down observations at all, although most school policies encourage formal records. In three case-study classrooms, pupils are encouraged to keep their own records, such as a list of the pages they have completed, books they have read, or new words they have learnt. One teacher keeps a record of the books the pupils have read as a class, including opinions. Teachers in these classrooms encourage reflective thinking about the learning process and keep a portfolio of the pupils' work that they can review at the end of the term or year to see how much progress has been made. By maintaining such portfolios, teachers provide concrete evidence of success. However, two teachers express concern at the amount of revision and consolidation necessary after the summer holidays.

Direct comparison between pupils is usually avoided. That is, charts of progress through the reading scheme and test results are kept private, and reading groups are given ambiguous names such as colours or animals. Despite these efforts, pupils are very astute at determining who in the class is doing well and who is doing poorly. In one class, the top reader was often sought by her peers for help with sounding out words and spelling; in another classroom two pupils were discouraged by their lack of progress in *Storyworlds* compared to their classmates. As much as teachers may try to treat each child equally, allowing him or her to learn at an appropriate individualised pace, children rank themselves.

The array of assessment tools for Gaelic-medium pupils is insufficient, which has significant implications for accurately monitoring children's achievements. The only consistent forms of assessment are the tests administered in order to determine pupils' levels A-E in accordance with the National Guidelines. Teachers are reliant on English originals for a range of

assessment, from spelling tests to diagnostics for learning disabilities. In some cases, pupils may be moved into English-medium classes because there are no resources in Gaelic to test and treat common difficulties such as dyslexia. Both diagnostic and content-specific tests need to be developed in Gaelic (preferably not translated) in order for teachers to be able to determine ability and progress consistently both within a class and from year to year.

5.3.8 – providing extra support to pupils

It is difficult for teachers to provide adequate support for struggling pupils with the few resources available. Because reading is such an essential part of the curriculum, and because reading later in the primary years becomes the main means of learning, pupils who have a slow start have a tendency to fall further and further behind (see section 4.3.3). Unfortunately, difficulties are often attributed to the second language rather than to underlying physical or cognitive deficiencies; as Baetens Beardsmore (2003: 19) states with regard to the education of bilingual children in general, "no distinction is made between those who have general learning problems and those with specific difficulties due to language."

As mentioned above, no standardised assessments or tests are currently available in Gaelic. When (and if) a child in GME is diagnosed with a reading or learning disorder, the support system is not in place to allow that child to succeed. Specialists such as support-for-learning teachers and educational psychologists are very likely to be English monoglots, and those that do speak Gaelic have done all their training in English. The value of language specialists is recognised by Chall (1996: 104): "when reading specialists are working actively with teachers and children in evaluation and remediation, overall reading achievement is improved." A 2005 report by HMIE refers to "a lack of materials for pupils with additional support needs" as an important weakness; the document also mentions "a lack of suitable resources to assess and diagnose the difficulties of pupils whose general and Gaelic learning needs were more challenging." Since a significant proportion of any group of primary-

age pupils will have difficulty with some aspect of learning, this is an area of Gaelic-medium education that sorely needs development.

5.4 - oracy

The immersion techniques used in Gaelic-medium education mean that the development of speech is a prime objective (see section 3.1.4). For those pupils for whom the school is the only exposure to Gaelic, this emphasis on oracy is essential. The term "oracy" refers to language in its oral and auditory form; some writers prefer the term "orality" (cf. Hornberger (2003b)). Wilkinson coined the term "oracy" in 1965 in conjunction with the communicative approach to second language teaching (Corden 2000: 1). This pedagogical approach emphasises speaking and listening in much the same way that immersion techniques do. Reading and writing largely follow a focus on oral skills, although as Garton and Pratt (1998: 2) persuasively argue, literacy skills can contribute to the development of oral language. The reliance on education for language development means that a certain degree of prescriptivism in terms of language use and teaching is expected and even condoned. The actual usage of spoken Gaelic in the case-study classrooms by both teachers and pupils varies widely, which may account, in part, for the range of progress in reading observed.

5.4.1 - use of Gaelic in the classroom

Because the majority of Gaelic-medium units follow the immersion approach, the initial emphasis in the classroom is on developing oral fluency. This emphasis is articulated in the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14: "the teaching of reading and writing... *after skills in talking and listening are well established*" (Scottish Office Education Department 1993: 28, emphasis added). This privileging of oracy is confirmed by a variety of sources, including the Scottish Examination Board (1988: 25), Fraser (1989: 194), the Scottish Office Education Department (1994: 14), and MacNeil (2000: 288). The strong

focus on oral skills necessitates a close look at the type of language actually used in classrooms.

Although all the case-study teachers claim to use immersion methods (Gaelic only) rather than bilingual methods (from 50% to 90% Gaelic), the use of Gaelic in classrooms is not consistently high. Teachers acknowledge that even with the best intentions the proportion of Gaelic they speak is closer to 90%; the language used by pupils ranges from 20% to 100% Gaelic, averaging around 80%. In some respects, speech that incorporates English code-switching, particularly at the word level, reflects the habits of native speakers and those who use Gaelic on a daily basis. From a pedagogical perspective, however, mixed speech can be both confusing and misleading as pupils may think it acceptable to speak English in the classroom.

Code-switching, contrary to public opinion, is a highly complex language phenomenon, and is not arbitrary. Grammatically and socially acceptable code-switching demands a high level of skill in the language which learners may find difficult to acquire. Since the teacher is the major and sometimes only language role model, he or she must be critically self-aware of his or her own language use. Code-switching is *not* wrong per se, but for pupils in immersion education it does not provide a clear and consistent example of the target language. Teachers should instead try to target their language to the knowledge of the pupils, for example by simplifying complex grammar and restricting vocabulary. At the same time, idiomatic and rich Gaelic should be the goal. Balancing these two objectives requires a high degree of language skill.

Teachers committed to a Gaelic-only classroom environment face particular challenges concerning vocabulary. Some words do not have established Gaelic equivalents, while others are "Gaelicised" pronunciations of English words, only some of which are well-established in the language. At the individual level, teachers, especially those who are learners of Gaelic themselves and new to the profession, may not have a sufficient supply of

vocabulary for classroom needs, and children are bound to want to use words outside the ordinary scope. Some teachers are more likely than others to admit that they do not know a word. These teachers are also more likely to try to think of a Gaelic equivalent or paraphrase, or to model dictionary use. With the exception of single vocabulary items the use of Gaelic is very consistent in four of the classrooms. A special emphasis in two classrooms is on irregular verbs and the affirmative, negative, and interrogative forms. This emphasis demonstrates to pupils that vocabulary includes more than a single form of each word, with verbs and plurals of nouns being most prominent, followed by variation caused by grammatical case and amalgamated prepositions.

In P1, when pupils are first being introduced to Gaelic (although many have been to a *sgoil àraich*), English is sometimes used in the first part of the year for rephrasing commands and for discipline. Immersion techniques in general recommend that the teacher use the child's mother tongue only if he or she is hurt or seriously upset (Scottish Office Education Department (1993)). HMIE (2005) cautions that in the early stages of immersion, teacher should "be especially careful to respond to pupils' personal and social needs sensitively and supportively, to ensure that they [do] not become frustrated or distressed by difficulties with communication." In the case-study classrooms, teachers try most statements in Gaelic first. If English *must* be used for comprehension when context and body language will not suffice, the English is couched in Gaelic equivalents on either side. Several teachers comment that significant progress in the comprehension and production of Gaelic is noticeable in the second term of P1. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 128) suggest that "something in the order of 750 to 2800 contact hours of instruction is required to achieve any significant change in linguistic behaviour"; similarly, Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (1990: 2) state that "it can take up to two thousand hours for a child from a non Gaelic-speaking home to master the Gaelic language." The rapid progress in Gaelic-medium classrooms is likely due to the intensive exposure that immersion methods provide. However, in one P3 classroom, the teacher still resorts to English to get the class's attention and to discipline.

Because children cannot be expected to begin using a new language immediately, particularly when they are simultaneously adjusting to the experience of school, nearly all P1 teachers allow the use of English by the *pupils* at the early stages. This exception to the Gaelic-only rule is then phased out as pupils' abilities in the second language develop and they become capable of expressing themselves satisfactorily in the target language. The use of Gaelic is encouraged as much as possible, with copious praise and sometimes with incentives such as gold stars. By spring of the first year, English is actively discouraged. Teachers help their youngest learner pupils by providing the Gaelic terminology and framework for what they want to say. Some do this explicitly, asking the child to repeat after them, while others simply repeat or rephrase the utterance in Gaelic themselves. One teacher insists upon full sentence replies, thus emphasising verb forms and complex structures. The pupils' attention span and listening ability will contribute to how quickly their language development progresses.

Songs and rhymes are an effective way for the teacher to promote the use of Gaelic. The rhythms, rhyming couplets, and creative uses of languages in these forms support language development. Whitebread (2003: 10) states that "playful approaches and activities – making up nonsense words, verbal jokes and puns, silly rhymes and so forth are all much enjoyed and of great benefit." Pupils in the case-study classrooms tend to be enthusiastic about learning songs and rhymes. In one P1 class, pupils frequently request the recital of rhymes, and suggest songs that are related to lesson topics. Many of the nursery rhymes are translations of English originals, although songs are more likely to be traditional. Number rhymes are also popular. Some rhymes and songs are found in worksheets, but most are supplied by the individual class teacher or music teacher.

Actions are a frequent feature of learning and reciting rhymes, and in one classroom involve finger puppets. In two classrooms, the printed text of the rhyme or song is used to teach it. Because rhymes and songs are generally

restricted to P1 and P2 classes, the pupils' reading ability may not yet be at a high enough level to access the text. However, the use of a model is still beneficial. Both rhymes and songs are returned to frequently until and after pupils master them. Drama is used to two classrooms as a further form of language play. Word games involving repetition are also popular. Similarly, rote phrases such as those used in morning and closing routines contribute to pupils' language development from the initial days of P1.

Regardless of teachers' good intentions and enforcement of classroom rules, pupils tend to speak whichever language they want to. Motivation is therefore crucial. Pupils clearly use the interlocutor as a cue for which language they speak. Most pupils are willing, and many are in fact eager, to speak Gaelic to the teacher, especially in P1 and P2. A significantly smaller proportion elects to speak Gaelic to each other without explicit prompting from the teacher. Visitors to the classroom provide another perspective on the pupils' use of Gaelic. Pupils are quite astute at determining the extent of Gaelic these visitors speak, and respond appropriately. In some schools, the headteacher and support staff are fluent, in others they know a few token phrases, and in others only English is used. The language models presented to the pupils affect both their language development and their perception of their two languages.

5.4.1.1 – teacher talk v. pupil talk

One of Wray and Medwell's (1991: 16) startling research discoveries was the disproportionate time that teachers spend talking during a lesson and the limited demands that they make on their pupils' speech abilities. These results indicated that "teacher talk" constitutes up to two-thirds of talk in the classroom and that pupils often speak only in response to questions, most of which are factual rather than inferential. More modern teaching techniques, and particularly the immersion approach to second language learning, have likely altered these statistics. However, in the early stages of P1 Gaelic immersion, the teacher must necessarily do much of the talking unless there

are significant numbers of pupils in the class who have come from Gaelic-speaking homes.

Effective teachers find ways to allow children to use the limited knowledge of words, phrases, and structures that they do have. As pupils develop their languages, which they do surprisingly quickly, it is important to maintain and boost confidence levels. Games are successful in this regard as, if directed properly, pupils at a variety of levels can participate. Engaging in *meaningful* conversation and reading *meaningful* texts are extremely important, but the level of difficulty must be appropriate. "Round-robin" activities, in which each child has an opportunity to speak or read, are suitable occasionally, but may distance or intimidate the less able pupils. Small group activities, paired reading, and rotations for show-and-tell allow pupils to spend more time speaking and listening attentively. Language development, whether for speech or written language, requires practice, and school may be the only place for many pupils to practise Gaelic.

When children, especially non-native speakers, are struggling with a word either while speaking or reading, it can be very tempting for the teacher or other interlocutor to supply the word immediately. Yet this well-intentioned relief of frustration for the child in fact encourages reliance on others and may inhibit rather than stimulate language development. Teachers especially must be cautious in this regard, and promote independent efforts. In the case-study classrooms, prompting with initial letters is far more common than simply supplying the word. During reading lessons, teachers encourage pupils to use the strategies they have learnt for word attack, which often include a phonic element (see section 5.3.4). Without oral language skills in pronunciation and vocabulary, it is very difficult for children to recognise the words needed for reading lessons.

Teachers in two classrooms encourage pupils to repeat words or phrases after them. This can be a whole-class activity associated with reading or with vocabulary development in other subjects such as science, or it can target

individuals. Individual pupils are often asked to repeat words when the teacher notices errors or problems in pronunciation or grammar or if the child is unable to independently produce what he or she wants to say in Gaelic. By providing an exact model for the child, and then ensuring that the child is able to repeat it exactly, these teachers promote correct spoken language. Both of these teachers are careful not to interrupt, not to be overly critical, and to praise good efforts. One teacher explains that she uses correction to boost confidence as pupils will be sure of the right forms. Not every mistake is corrected, in order for fluency to develop, and in the hopes that children will learn to self-monitor their own speech and reading.

Because language acquisition is such a central aspect of Gaelic-medium primary classrooms, the teacher's language competence is at least as important as his or her teaching ability. Of the teachers who completed the initial questionnaire (43% of primary teachers in 2004-2005), only two out of three identified themselves as native speakers of Gaelic. While native speaker status does not necessarily indicate a higher level of language competence as compared to learners, the perception of native speakers both from a self-assessing and a public standpoint is significant; native speakers themselves may benefit from confidence, while parents may assume better language abilities.

5.4.2 – use of English in the classroom

Code-switching into English is not necessarily considered an error in the case-study classrooms, particularly if the segment corresponds to the social rules of code-switching. Code-switching, or code-mixing, may be single word tokens, phrasal, and inter-sentential or intra-sentential. If English is used for vocabulary items within the syntax of Gaelic, the child will not be corrected *per se*, although the teacher may supply the Gaelic equivalent (assuming that he or she knows one). Teachers rarely tolerate entire sentences or phrases in English, which usually occur when a child is caught up in telling a story or when the children are speaking among themselves and think the teacher is not

paying attention. Moments of high emotion, such as disagreements, games, and visitors to the class such as drama groups, are also likely to result in the use of English.

As discussed in the previous sections, teachers must carefully monitor their own language use. Behaviours such as calquing English constructions (that is, a word-for-word translation of an English phrase conforming to English grammatical rules) should particularly be avoided, as child learners are likely to use these even without hearing a spoken model. This phenomenon is due in part to gaps in knowledge; without knowing the full range of Gaelic grammar, the child applies rules from the other language. Although calquing and code-switching are common linguistic strategies for almost all Gaelic speakers, the use of these behaviours in the immersion classroom may lead pupils to think that the use of English vocabulary and grammar is permissible during lessons. If proper caution is not exercised, pupils might end up speaking a Gaelic that simply superimposes Gaelic vocabulary on English structures.

Bilingual children may be very flexible in their use of two languages, whether these are equally or unequally developed. So-called "balanced bilinguals" (see section 4.1.2) seem to switch effortlessly between languages, but those who are in the process of learning a second or additional language also demonstrate flexibility in language use to compensate for knowledge gaps. Linguistic creativity is very common in the case-study classrooms. The two most prominent types of creative language use are the formations of plurals and verbal nouns by adding a Gaelic ending to an English word. However, this type of language use may be unintentional, as children are not necessarily aware that the base noun or verb is not Gaelic. In addition, the use of Gaelic morphology is a marker of language development. Such behaviour does in fact indicate progress in language ability as well as a desire to conform to a Gaelic-only atmosphere.

Fraser (1989: 171) describes how English reading material was introduced in the first year of Gaelic immersion due to resource problems in the initial years of the Gaelic-medium education system. English material is still used in P1-2, but it is either translated impromptu by the teacher as she reads aloud (one case-study teacher in particular used this method frequently) or pasted-over with Gaelic text. English is not formerly introduced until P3, although the individual teacher often determines when to begin instruction: while over half of the questionnaire respondents claim to introduce reading English in autumn term of P3, one third wait until spring term, and the remainder postpone it even farther. Some pupils by P3 have begun to read English independently outside of school. Teachers prefer to wait until literacy skills have been mastered in Gaelic before teaching them in English (Bannerman 1995: 46). One reason for this delay is "air eagal 's gum bi buaidh na Beurla ro cumhachdail dhan chloinn ma gheibh iad na sgilean ud anns a' Bheurla an toiseach[9]" (Watson 2003: 154). As with many other aspects of Gaelic-medium education, the timing and pace of the introduction of English is largely dependent on the language background of the class.

5.5 - the school environment

Supporting the use of Gaelic outside the classroom is essential if pupils are to speak the language naturally and in all contexts. Much implicit language teaching takes place outwith formal education. While the classroom is the focal point of instruction and language development in Gaelic-medium units, significant academic and social learning takes place in other areas of the school and at other times of the school day, such as during lunch and recess. The physical surroundings beyond the classroom are also important, as they affect how and with whom the pupils interact. Children are sensitive to attitudes toward language use, particularly by adults, but also by their peers.

---

[9] "for fear that the influence of English will be too powerful for the children if they learn these [literacy] skills in English first."

5.5.1 – the ambience of Gaelic-medium units

The administration and policies of the Gaelic-medium unit (GMU) vary by education authority and by individual school. In the academic year 2004-2005 during which fieldwork was conducted, there was only one dedicated all-Gaelic primary school, Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu. Another all-Gaelic primary school is set to open in Inverness in 2007. All other Gaelic-medium classes are part of units within schools that also contain English-medium streams, although the proportion of pupils in each stream varies widely across schools. The year ranges within each school are also variable: some include S1 and S2, and some include a *sgoil àraich*, a Gaelic-medium preschool. It is common for there to be gaps in classes, depending upon the size of the unit and its location, and most classes are composite across age groups. According to statistics collected annually by Boyd Robertson at Strathclyde University, nearly half of units do not have children in every class; only a few of these gaps are accounted for by a new unit with children only in the initial years.

Of the six case-study schools, four have units which are physically isolated from the rest of the school, whether in a separate building or in a separate wing or hallway. Although it could be argued that such segregation is negative, the distance helps create a sense of cohesiveness within the unit and as a practical benefit ensures that pupils are predominantly exposed to Gaelic. The HMIE reports indicate that these units are well-integrated with the rest of the school. All schools have some official situations in which Gaelic and English streams are mixed, such as assemblies, in addition to the informal mixing that occurs on the playground and before and after school. Interaction among Gaelic-medium classes and teachers within a school is quite common, but not so across units within an authority or nationally. This lack of networking is a weakness in Gaelic-medium education, although some progress is being made (see section 6.4).

The role of the unit within the school also varies. In some cases, the segregation is carried throughout many school activities, such as visitors and

concerts. In other schools, particularly smaller ones, there is a significant amount of contact between English and Gaelic-medium streams, even to the extent of combined classes. The number of teachers within the unit also has an impact on contact with other Gaelic-speaking teachers and pupils versus interaction with English-speaking teachers and pupils. O'Hanlon (2005) describes the need for a new taxonomy for Gaelic-medium education, which takes into account both the language used for instruction and the language of other school activities.

In only one case-study school do the number of Gaelic classes and pupils outnumber the English counterparts. Even in areas traditionally considered strongholds for Gaelic, uptake into GME is not as high as could be expected or hoped; in the Western Isles, for examples, fewer than a quarter of primary school pupils attend Gaelic-medium units (MacKinnon (2006)). Yet it can be misleading to judge the effectiveness of units by numbers alone, particularly as many GMUs are located in areas with small school rolls overall. The spirit and enthusiasm of teachers and administrators are independent of the size of the unit. For practical reasons, a larger unit has advantages, including more funding, more staff, and more interaction with other Gaelic speakers. Alternatively, smaller class sizes mean that each pupil receives a greater proportion of the teacher's time, and composite classes can benefit from teaching and learning among pupils at different levels.

5.5.2 – Gaelic outside the classroom

While the main tenet of the immersion method is that education should be delivered through the target language only, this is not always feasible: Gaelic-medium education is no exception. Even at the primary level, there are subjects such as art and music that are the domain of specialists. The lack of qualified teachers for these subjects means that in many units pupils will receive some of their instruction in English. Even those pupils who speak Gaelic in their homes are bilingual, so this situation does not lead to a lack of comprehension; however, it may undermine the classroom teacher's efforts to

enforce a Gaelic-only rule. When Gaelic-speaking specialists are not available, one way to ease the load on the classroom teacher as sole provider of content and language input is to have teachers of other classes within the unit take some subjects, as is a regular practice in one case-study school. This solution also exposes the pupils to additional speakers and increases familiarity with their future teachers. Schools vary by how many specialists they have and by how qualified the classroom teachers are. In this case, the size of the school does have an impact.

In physical education, four of the schools have an English-speaking specialist, although in one school half the sessions are run by the classroom teacher. The command-based nature of physical education, and the emphasis on verbs, make it ideal for language learning as pupils respond physically to oral teacher instructions. Only one school has a separate teacher for art, and she speaks some Gaelic. This school also has a part-time science and health specialist who is learning Gaelic. Music is the most common subject for which to have a Gaelic specialist: four schools have some music instruction through Gaelic with two of the primary classes also attending an English-medium music class. In these two cases, the music covered in the Gaelic-medium class is specifically Gaelic. Having Gaelic music classes has a multitude of benefits, particularly in emphasising the high esteem in which music and song are held in Gaelic culture. Music also tends to be one of children's favourite classes.

In the classroom, the teacher largely controls the choice of language. In the lunchroom, the cloakroom, the halls, and the playground, pupils are less regulated. For these reasons, it is advantageous for the Gaelic-medium unit to be large and somewhat isolated. Knowing that their peers are capable of speaking Gaelic may help prevent learners from reverting to English, which happens almost universally when monolinguals are present. In case-study schools where pupils interact mainly with other Gaelic-medium pupils within a distinct area, the use of Gaelic was much more prevalent than in those schools where mixing of classes was common.

The success of Gaelic-medium education from a language revitalisation viewpoint is not measured by pupils' performance in the classroom, although this is of course an important component, but by their elective choice to use Gaelic in natural social situations. As mentioned above (section 5.4.1), children are sensitive to their linguistic environment; coupled with their natural desire to fit in, they are unlikely to speak Gaelic in a predominantly English context. For well-rounded language development, children need to be encouraged to use Gaelic outside the classroom and with speakers other than their own teacher and classmates. One way to accomplish this goal is to use Gaelic on school outings wherever possible, even if the destination and figures involved are unilingually English. At least three of the case study teachers made special efforts to incorporate Gaelic into such situations. HMIE (2005) suggests "visits to places of interest, participation in enterprise and citizenship activities, museum visits and science-related projects such as weather and bird surveys to develop vocabulary and provide real-life contexts." Enthusiastic teachers can turn almost any event into an opportunity for language development, as evidenced by one teacher's reaction to a fire drill.

Unit-wide assemblies are another way of bringing Gaelic beyond the classroom, and such assemblies also expose children to a different register of Gaelic than they are likely to hear in the classroom. Unfortunately, size of the unit and school policies may necessitate a whole school assembly. Yet two of the case-study schools deal very effectively with bilingual assemblies. Although this does entail some repetition for the Gaelic-speaking pupils, enforcement through rephrasing can be a useful teaching technique if handled well. Bilingual assemblies also expose the English-medium classes to Gaelic as an everyday language with real functions, which is an important portrayal for all pupils.

If there is more than one Gaelic-medium classroom in the unit, cohesiveness can be enhanced through interaction between classes. The "buddy" system is used in two of the case-study schools. This system pairs

older pupils with younger pupils for various activities, both academic and social. Both pupils benefit, the younger ones by having a capable teacher to whom they can relate as another child, and the older ones by gaining confidence in their own abilities as they explain to a non-critical, eager learner. Partnering within a class can also be effective, but having "buddies" in other classes promotes greater solidarity within the unit as a whole. Reading is one of the most common activities for buddies to do together, but science projects, music, and social interaction during lunch and assemblies are also included.

It is not always practical to fit cross-class buddy time into schedules. However, as all classes have a mix of abilities, and pupils have their own individual strengths and weaknesses, there are ample opportunities for pairing even in smaller units. The necessity of combining groups to form composite classes in many Gaelic-medium units, whether due to low numbers of pupils or of teachers, can be advantageous. It is important to keep absolute numbers down to ensure that each pupil can receive individual attention; in some schools, however, all of the Gaelic P1-P7 classes are taught by one teacher without compromising instruction. Usually only two or three classes are combined, as is the case in the majority of the case-study classrooms. While composite classes do require slightly different teaching techniques, teachers can learn to take advantage of the greater experience of their older pupils. Again, paired reading is perhaps the best use of time. Pupils also check each other's work in two of the classrooms.

Having good role models is one of the best ways to encourage pupils to use Gaelic in a range of situations. The teacher in an immersion classroom should of course be speaking the target language at all times, but pupils are also strongly influenced by the behaviour of their peers. "Buddies" and composite classes can provide peer modelling. Adult speakers carry extra authority, the headteacher being the most prestigious of all. Gaelic-medium units are certainly not guaranteed a Gaelic-speaking headteacher and some headteachers are perceived by staff to be hostile to Gaelic. Yet in the most

successful units, the headteacher makes an effort to speak Gaelic to children when he or she visits the classroom, whether this is simply a greeting or an in-depth discussion of current lesson topics.

Another subtle but effective way to boost children's perceptions of Gaelic is to display the language prominently. Within the primary classroom itself, there are a multitude of opportunities, and these can have a strictly pedagogical purpose. To avoid children classifying Gaelic as a language to be spoken only within the classroom, it is beneficial to extend displays, including pupils' own work, into the halls and common areas of the unit. The majority of the case-study teachers produce lively displays. Even more powerful is to incorporate Gaelic material into public spaces and hallways that are shared with the rest of the school, such as the lunchroom, gym, playground, and entrance lobby. In this way, Gaelic is not segregated from the rest of the school, but rather integrated as a natural and expected component of the educational experience, even if the unit itself is somewhat isolated. In one school, the material sent home, such as reports, permission letters, and newsletters, is bilingual, even though very few parents of pupils at this school are literate in Gaelic. Children learn very early to recognise the difference between printed English and Gaelic. In each case-study school, the school insignia and uniforms are available bilingually or in Gaelic only to demonstrate the full commitment to Gaelic. However, for the majority of these schools the Gaelic name is tokenistic and rarely used, even when speaking Gaelic.

One of the goals of Gaelic-medium education is to produce speakers who will use the language in a variety of contexts outside the school. While it is difficult to determine success in this regard during primary school, as most pupils' language ability is still in the early stages of development, parents can provide insight into pupils' language use outside of school. According to parents involved in the case study, 95% of pupils speak at least some Gaelic in the home. 72% of pupils have local family or friends with whom they can speak Gaelic, and over 60% of pupils are involved in an extracurricular activity

through Gaelic, such as *Sradagan* groups or music lessons. This kind of opportunity, however, is not available in all the areas where GMUs are located. These high levels of social language use are encouraging in that they create a network of Gaelic speakers beyond classroom peers. Continued development in this area is the focus of projects such as Families' Week at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and the Western Isles Language Plan, and is a priority for language revitalisation efforts.

Chapter 6: ANALYSIS OF LITERACY ACQUISITION IN GAELIC-MEDIUM UNITS

6.1 - overall variability in the education system

The results of this thesis underscore the need for additional case-study type research in Gaelic-medium education. Disparities were found between press releases and school policies, between guiding principles and individual teacher actions, and between what teachers report as everyday activities and what they actually accomplish in the classroom. These observed disparities are not meant to imply that schools and teachers intentionally misrepresent what goes on in Gaelic-medium classrooms; rather, they illustrate that the ongoing pressures and the somewhat chaotic nature of primary teaching make it difficult to adhere exactly to a written plan. This point is emphasised by Downing (1973f: 139-40), discussing a research study:

> [Chall and Feldmann] compared teachers' responses to a questionnaire about their beliefs and practices in teaching beginning reading with the results of regular observations of the same teachers at work in their own classrooms. They found no correlation between professed methods and actual methods used.

More research is needed on how the education system as a whole works to provide Gaelic-medium education. Although the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14 (SOED (1993)) do provide a basic structure and set of goals for Gaelic-medium education, the system is not centralised in any meaningful sense. There are certain legal requirements relating to a child's right to education that must be fulfilled. The Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000) identified Gaelic as an area of development, while Gaelic-medium education was designated a National Priority in education under "inclusion and equality". This document requires authorities to "include in their annual statement of improvement objectives their plans for Gaelic-medium education framework." Under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, one of the responsibilities of Bòrd na Gàidhlig is to prepare formal guidance to education

authorities in relation to Gaelic education in Scotland (e.g. the draft National Plan for Gaelic (2006)). However, provision remains the responsibility of individual education authorities. The HM Inspectorate is the main body that monitors the follow-through on education policy, although they employ very few Gaelic-speaking inspectors.

With respect to literacy specifically, the National Guidelines allow for wide variation in when and how literacy is introduced and in what language. The guidelines are not prescriptive: although goals are specified, little guidance is given in terms of practical application. The bulk of the guidelines are descriptions of levels of attainment, embedded in a timeline. Wide variation in use of resources and techniques as observed during the case study has a significant impact on children's acquisition of literacy and overall academic progress. The diverse range of pedagogical approaches indicates a need for more in-depth studies of the critical factors in the development of literacy across Gaelic-medium units.

6.1.1 – influence of national and education authority policies

Teaching in Scotland is influenced by policies set at a minimum of four levels: national policy (similar to the National Curriculum in England and Wales), education authority policy, school policy (usually managed by the headteachers), and individual teachers' policy. In Gaelic-medium units, there may also be within-unit planning and policy-making. Policies tend to be broad and permissive at the national and authority level, becoming more specific further down in the hierarchy. National policies dictate subjects in the curriculum, while school policy may dictate the number of hours spent on each subject in classrooms. In terms of Gaelic-medium provision specifically, in Scotland, unlike Ireland and Wales,

> the decision to provide Gaelic-medium education in a particular area or school depends entirely on policy decisions made at the local authority level by local authorities, and central authorities play no direct role in authorising or blocking such determinations (Rogers & McLeod forthcoming 2006: 27).

The potential disparities in provision and policy mean that generalisations for GME must be general indeed: significant variability was observed even in the six Gaelic-medium units (10% of the total) that comprised the case study.

The variability in GME arises in part from the diverse composition of the education authorities and Gaelic-medium units themselves (see Table 8 below). Fourteen education authorities currently provide Gaelic-medium primary education out of 32 total authorities in Scotland. While these fourteen authorities do have some mention of Gaelic policy within their overall education strategy, eleven of the authorities have only one Gaelic-medium unit, and so coordination is not applicable within these authorities. Highland Council and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar between them have by far the majority of units; Argyll & Bute is the only other authority to have multiple units. However, the varying sizes of units mean that in terms of pupils, the proportion of units does not correspond to the percentage of pupils. The largest single unit is Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu, with 172 pupils in 2004-2005, the year of the case study, and 195 pupils in 2005-2006 (more than in the six units of Argyll & Bute combined). See Table 8 below for a comparison of the units in terms of authority and pupil enrolment.

Table 8 - Comparison of Gaelic-medium Units across Authorities

Authority	Number of Units	Percentage of Units	Number of Pupils	Percentage of Pupils
Aberdeen City	1	1.6%	45	2.2%
Angus	1	1.6%	16	0.7%
Argyll & Bute	6	9.8%	157	7.6%
East Ayrshire	1	1.6%	30	1.5%
East Dunbartonshire	1	1.6%	46	2.2%
Edinburgh City	1	1.6%	90	4.4%
Eilean Siar	25	41.0%	492	23.8%
Glasgow City	1	1.6%	195	9.4%
Highland	19	31.1%	710	34.3%
Inverclyde	1	1.6%	24	1.2%
North Lanarkshire	1	1.6%	105	5.1%
Perth & Kinross	1	1.6%	5	0.2%
South Lanarkshire	1	1.6%	84	4.1%
Stirling	1	1.6%	69	3.3%

For those authorities that do have multiple units, the authority-wide policies must be adjusted depending on the individual school's roll, staff numbers, and location, as well as other considerations. The wide range of size of Gaelic-medium units, from four pupils to 195 pupils, necessarily impacts the resources available to these units, such as books, physical space, and specialist instructors; the allocation of resources in turn affects the ability to implement policy. Documents provided by local authorities were reviewed as these provide information about the availability and nature of Gaelic-medium education in the area and are also used for promotional purposes. The authorities are responsible for recruiting teachers, supplying materials, and providing in-service training, among other obligations. Before Stòrlann was established, Highland Council and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar were responsible

for creating a large proportion of resources, and still contribute to the overall pool. The policies and practices in these two authorities also have served as an example to more recently established units.

The approach taken by different authorities is also informed by the differing proportions of Gaelic speakers in each authority and the historical role of the language in each area, for example a contrast between the suburbs of Glasgow and the rural townships in Lewis. The promotional material from each authority therefore emphasises different aspects of Gaelic-medium education, depending on characteristics of the target population. Much of the concern at authority level is in promoting GME as successful from both an educational and a language acquisition standpoint. In some cases, decisions must be made concerning the proportion of Gaelic to be used in teaching, although the vast majority of units adopt the immersion technique of 100% in the early years. As demonstrated by O'Hanlon's (2005) MSc dissertation, language use in Gaelic-medium units is highly variable even within authorities; in line with immersion methodology, Gaelic use by the teacher generally is between 90-100%. Other concerns include identifying "sufficient, sustainable demand" for GME, providing for special needs children, specifying national testing arrangements, and supporting the continuing professional development of staff (see section 6.4).

Most authorities that offer Gaelic-medium education also have some sort of provision for teaching Gaelic as a second language to English-stream pupils at the primary level, although the numbers receiving such instruction represent only a very small proportion of the total school-age population. The most significant development in this area is the Gaelic Learners in the Primary School (GLPS) scheme. This scheme was initiated by Argyll & Bute Council in 2000 to increase the profile of Gaelic and provide opportunities for all pupils to be introduced to Gaelic. The scheme is related to the more widespread Modern Languages at Primary School scheme, designed to give pupils an early start learning additional languages. One of the aims of GLPS is that those pupils

involved in the scheme will go on to choose Gaelic as a course in secondary school. Importantly, the programme does not require a Gaelic-speaking teacher; training consists of a 20-day course.

In 2003, the Gaelic Learners in the Primary School scheme ran in the following authorities: Argyll & Bute, East Ayrshire, Eilean Siar, Highland, North Lanarkshire, Perth & Kinross, and Stirling. Although each of these authorities already has at least one Gaelic-medium unit, GLPS increases the number of pupils who receive some exposure to Gaelic without requiring the same commitment from children, parents, schools, and authorities as a full immersion programme does. Johnstone (2003) analyses the scheme from the perspective of the Scottish Executive Education Department, HMIE, the General Teaching Council, course tutors, and participating teachers, with positive overall findings. The goal of GLPS is not to replace Gaelic-medium education, but rather to provide a means of promoting Gaelic in areas where the education authority is not yet prepared to establish a Gaelic-medium unit.

Business plans, annual reports, and other internal communication provide additional perspectives on the authority's approach. Most of the details laid out in local authority plans are termed "objectives": that is, future plans or goals toward which the authority is striving. As such, these documents are *not* intended to represent the actual situation in schools, although they may do so. As is characteristic of objectives, the plans tend to be optimistic and long-term, describing a desired future state. Actually fulfilling such plans will require a great deal of work, time, and funding. For example, many business plans include the goal of expanding Gaelic-medium provision. While certainly admirable as a goal, it is much easier to declare than to achieve. It is not clear whether the infrastructure is in place for such expansion (see section 6.4).

Within the scope of the single year of the case-study, it was not possible to ascertain the extent to which authorities were successful in making progress on their action plans and long-term objectives. However, interviews with teachers suggest that achievement was variable. Several commented that their

authority had made promises regarding, for example, providing additional staffing or adjusting classroom arrangements, which had been slow in being realised. A policy document of Highland Council also indicates that Gaelic-medium teachers often feel that their needs are not being met or are even ignored (2002). The authority itself may not be entirely responsible for such delays. The lack of a centralised coordinator contributes to the variability across authorities and potentially to the suboptimal use of both human and material resources.

As at the national level, authority-wide policies and guidelines represent more of an ideal than actual implementation in the classroom. These policies serve to provide guidance and overall structure to the education system. Yet researchers and the public must be cautious in accepting these documents as a reflection of day-to-day reality. As this case study illustrates, a variety of issues cause classroom practice to vary significantly from official policy in areas such as the use of English and the timing of the introduction of certain skills. Although administering questionnaires and interviews is time and resource intensive, speaking to headteachers and class teachers and observing these teachers in the classroom is a much more accurate means of assessing current practice than analysing policy documents.

Both the National Guidelines and authority policies leave a significant proportion of policy-making decisions to individual schools. Class teachers in Gaelic-medium units therefore have significant autonomy and great impact in terms of creating an educational framework. Generally, the more specific the document is to a particular classroom, the more closely it will be followed. Even so, often teachers cannot follow their own lesson plans exactly. This reality is not necessarily negative; some of the best teaching results from instantaneous reactions based on experience rather than a formal design. Because of the central role that teachers have in creating policy, it may be beneficial to focus planning efforts on providing teachers with tools and techniques for effective policy-making, rather than revising and developing

existing upper-level policies. As with many other aspects of Gaelic-medium education, assessment of the system is necessary to gain a broad perspective of practice.

6.1.2 - the views of primary teachers

The questionnaires and interviews conducted for this study identified a number of the differences between practice and policy. Classroom observation both verified and conflicted with teachers' accounts of their own practices, which themselves did not always accord with stated policies. These disparities reinforce the need to triangulate and confirm data. There are three possible levels of analysis of teachers' adherence to both explicit and implicit policy:

1. how teachers view policies for literacy acquisition such as those found in the National Guidelines;
2. how teachers report themselves as teaching literacy skills; and
3. how teachers are observed to teach reading and writing in the primary classroom.

The coverage of questionnaires and interviews was significantly wider than that of the case studies: 35 teachers completed an initial questionnaire, 18 completed a follow-up questionnaire, and 15 teachers were interviewed (see Table 1 and Appendices C2, C3, and C4). Similar responses were received from all the teachers involved, indicating a high degree of reliability. In analysing the quantitative data obtained from questionnaires, it must be remembered that the information therein is self-reported. Accurate self-analysis is always difficult, and self-reported data can be misleading, as is a concern with census results (see section 3.2.1). Human inclination is to present oneself favourably when under scrutiny; subjects are likely to be influenced by what they suppose researchers want to hear, at least at the sub-conscious level, and are also likely to report what they feel they "ought" to be doing.

In general, classroom observation indicated that teachers were much more accurate in reporting on long-term aspects of the curriculum, such as when reading and writing are introduced, and less accurate concerning daily activities. Although some aspects of the questionnaire (see Appendix C2)

involved subjective issues, such as when pupils attain fluency or satisfaction with resources, many questions were more fact-based. Teachers tended to over-report how often they read stories, how often pupils wrote, and how often they used songs and rhymes. Interestingly, the trend was to under-report the use of supplementary materials such as worksheets, audiotapes, and computers. Although further interviews and observation clarified some of these issues (Appendix C4), determining levels of typical activity necessarily requires some extrapolation. Repeated classroom observation of each teacher over the course of the year helped to confirm these estimates (see Appendix A); because each teacher was observed only eight times, however, it is likely that not all activities were represented in the sample.

Teachers were quite specific regarding the techniques that they used for teaching reading, perhaps because these techniques are specifically introduced in teacher training (albeit in English only). The current pedagogical trend is to combine techniques rather than strictly following a single method, and the questionnaire responses reflected this approach. Most teachers selected more than one of the methods used to teach reading, although preference was not indicated by many respondents. Analysis of the responses across the group of teachers indicated that phonics was used by all the teachers, and over half also used the "look-and-say" or sight word method. The whole language approach was used by one third of the teachers, while one quarter of teachers used the language experience approach; these numbers indicate the diversity of methods used in classrooms in varying combinations.

Direct observation of case-study classrooms for the most part confirmed the questionnaire responses: the use of phonics was very much in evidence (see Appendix B). Sight words were also extremely popular, more so than the questionnaire results suggested. It may be that teachers under-reported the use of sight words because they addressed the words first from a phonics perspective, rather than viewing each word as a whole. Although phonics therefore took precedence, the end result of immediate identification without

analysis was the same as in the "look-and-say" approach. The under-reporting of the "look-and-say" approach may also have been the result of teachers' perceptions of the value of different approaches, as teachers may de-emphasise those approaches that have received criticism (see section 4.3.4).

Independent of any research objectives, self-reflection is an important activity for teachers. The ability to look critically and honestly at one's own actions is often cited in suggestions for continuing professional development. When teaching, it is easy to become caught up in the daily pressures and quick pace of the classroom. However, as demonstrated here, aligning major objectives and personal theories of teaching with actual practice is difficult and requires continual self-monitoring. More external observation with feedback, in addition to HMIE visits, could help teachers to become more critically self-aware.

6.2 - extra-curricular support

Gaelic-medium education differs from many other immersion-based programmes in that it is quite common for children in Scotland to come into the primary school knowing some Gaelic. The prior knowledge and language abilities of children vary widely, which presents special challenges for the primary teacher. At one extreme are children whose parents speak only Gaelic in the home (there were three of these in the case study out of 104 total pupils). At the other extreme are those children for whom the first day of school is their first exposure to the language, as is assumed in much immersion methodology. In between are many children whose parents speak a mixture of Gaelic and English, whose parents are learners of Gaelic to varying degrees of fluency, or who have older siblings involved in Gaelic-medium education. The widespread provision of *sgoiltean àraich* gives many children an opportunity to become acquainted with and comfortable with Gaelic before formal schooling. Nearly 90% of the pupils in the case study had attended a *sgoil àraich*, thus indicating the degree to which Gaelic pre-school provision is considered an essential part of the education system. There are significant

numbers of pupils who attend a *sgoil àraich* but do not then enter a Gaelic-medium unit: in 2005-2006 there were 641 pupils enrolled in nursery, yet only 331 in P1 (although some pupils may remain in nursery for two years).

In P1 and P2 in particular, the Gaelic-medium primary teacher must contend with a much greater range of language ability than his or her English-medium counterpart. After the initial stages of immersion, children's language skills tend to equalise; several teachers in interviews noted that differences in language background were hardly noticeable by P3. Yet as Baker (1988: 111) cautions, "children need to be homogenous in language skills at the start [of immersion education]. Varying degrees of ability in the second language may detract from a well structured and sequenced curriculum." The Gaelic-medium teacher needs assistance both in accurately assessing the child's level of linguistic skill and in catering for individual needs. In the PGDE course in its current form, no training is given in these areas (see section 6.4.2.1).

The involvement and support of parents, siblings, and the community are essential in giving each child a rich and rewarding educational experience. The type and extent of extracurricular support that is available is partly dependent on the sociolinguistic history of the particular area in which the Gaelic-medium unit is located, as this has a significant influence on language use in the community and the home. Part of the rationale for selecting the six case-study schools is that they are located in areas of Scotland that have had historically divergent use of Gaelic (see sections 2.2.1 and 3.1).Unfortunately, even in numerically strong Gaelic-speaking areas, it is very common for Gaelic to be restricted to classroom situations: "'S e aon dhe na duilgheadasan a tha ag èirigh an lùib foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig anns na sgoiltean gu bheil cleachdadh a' chànain a' stad aig geata na sgoile no fiù 's aig doras an rùm-theagaisg[10]" (Robasdan 2006: 89). Since the overarching goal of GME is the independent and self-initiated use of Gaelic, this complication needs to be

[10] "One of the difficulties arising related to Gaelic-medium education in the schools is that the use of the language stops at the school gate or even at the door of the classroom."

addressed. The success of children's literacy acquisition in terms of both rate and level is affected by language use in the community and by extracurricular support in other forms, particularly at home.

6.2.1 - Gaelic in the home

Schools and teachers involved parents in their children's education in a multitude of ways. Whether or not the parents spoke Gaelic was not often a direct consideration; one teacher pointed out that it was difficult to tell which parents had Gaelic, as many were shy about their language use in formal situations. Teachers did not assume parents had fluency or understanding in Gaelic until proven otherwise. For example, only two of the teachers who completed questionnaires were of the opinion that any of their pupils' parents were familiar with the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions. Teachers considered only 17% of their pupils to come from a Gaelic-speaking background; this is a significant drop from Fraser's (1989: 220) statistic that 59% of pupils had such a background. HMIE (2005) cautions against "a risk of complacency in areas traditionally seen as 'the Gaelic heartland'" concerning the need for additional support in the home. Even though parents are statistically unlikely to be literate in Gaelic, it is the policy of two schools that the material sent home, particularly newsletters, be bilingual. Teachers also communicated with parents through notes, termly meetings, and open houses. English was the default language, although teachers encouraged parents to use Gaelic in conversation with them regardless of fluency.

When there was sufficient presence and strength of Gaelic in the surrounding community, teachers were creative in utilising this resource to broaden their pupils' exposure to the language. Case-study teachers and others interviewed invite Gaelic speakers into the classroom or take the class on school outings where they are likely to hear Gaelic spoken. In one school, a Gaelic-speaking parent came in weekly to help out in a classroom assistant role, while in another, fluent speakers including older pupils, parents, and other local Gaelic speakers were invited to practice paired reading with the

youngest children. Even when parents were not directly involved in classroom activities, teachers still kept parents informed; this often took the form of "meetings to explain to parents their methods of teaching reading and to discuss their role in supporting their children's reading," as described by HM Inspectors of Schools (1998: 23).

All of the teachers in the case study recognised the importance of parental involvement for academic progress, and tried to include parents as much as possible in their children's schoolwork, even if the parents spoke no Gaelic. Five of the case-study teachers used a homework grid or diary to enable parents to keep track and supervise their children's current assignments. For two of these grids, parents had to initial or sign to indicate that their child had completed the assignment. Teachers also strongly encouraged listening to their child read aloud in Gaelic, whether or not the parents were able to understand and provide assistance with pronunciation or meaning; it was recommended nightly in P1 classrooms but less frequently at higher levels. Some teachers chose to send home the accompanying *Storyworlds* tape, which parent learners in particular found helpful. In general, teachers described the parents of their pupils as "very supportive". This consensus is not surprising as Gaelic-medium education is voluntary and self-selected; parents therefore tend to be actively engaged in their child's experience.

Parents were also included as part of the case study: as described in the methodology (section 2.2), questionnaires about reading in Gaelic were distributed by the teachers to the parents of the pupils involved (see Appendices C5 and C6). 75 (72%) parents responded out of a total of 104 pupils, some of whom were siblings. 42 (56%; 40% of the initial contacts) of these parents agreed to filling out a further questionnaire on "Gaelic reading in the home", although only 15 parents (36%; 14% of the initial contacts) returned this questionnaire. The respondents covered the range of all case-study classrooms and a representative mix of P1 through P3 pupils. These parent questionnaires and comments added a further dimension to the

analysis, as well as supplying some information relevant to literacy acquisition that the teachers were unable to provide. The results will be presented here as the total of all respondents to help preserve anonymity.

The majority of pupils in the case-study classrooms had some support in the home in terms of speaking and reading Gaelic. Table 9 below details Gaelic use in the home. While only 20% of pupils from whom questionnaires were returned lived with two Gaelic-speaking adults, 57% had one Gaelic-speaking adult in the home, which meant that only 23% had no adults to support their language use (see Table 9 below). A high proportion of pupils' parents have learned Gaelic to varying degrees, whether for their own use or to support their children's education. Literacy among other Gaelic speakers in the child's home was high, with over half of pupils having another person literate in Gaelic who could assist with reading and writing. Exact numbers are unclear here as some parents including their own primary-age child in the results as "reading comfortably in Gaelic".

In line with the national pattern reported in the 2001 census, respondents were more likely to claim reading skills in Gaelic than writing skills. While 77% of the parents labelled themselves Gaelic speakers, only half of these labelled themselves native speakers. Only six pupils had both parents describe themselves "native speakers", and for only three of these pupils was Gaelic the main language of the home: the implications of this disparity for language maintenance are discouraging. The majority (61%) of case-study pupils had no adult native speakers in the home.

Table 9 - Gaelic Use Outwith the School

in the home	**none**	**one**	**two or more**
adult speakers	23%	57%	20%
literate adult speakers	28%	45%	27%
native adult speakers	61%	31%	8%
sibling speakers	33%	40%	27%

conversation partner	**parents**	**siblings**	**extended family**
	84%	78%	64%

age of exposure	**birth**	**birth to three**	**four to five**
	27%	52%	21%

extracurricular support	**community**	**children's group**
	72%	61%

Because the questionnaire consisted entirely of self-reported data, the parents' language abilities were not formally assessed. It is likely that, as in the census, both over-reporting (parents whose learning had not progressed much toward fluency) and under-reporting (learners and native speakers who lacked confidence) occurred. However, parents' perceptions of their own language ability are important in terms of the support they feel comfortable giving their child. The general willingness to learn Gaelic in addition to choosing Gaelic-medium education for their children shows the extent to which parents support revitalisation efforts, although their reasons for doing so are diverse (see section 3.1.4.2).

Most parents who choose Gaelic-medium education for one child do so for all their children. This trend means that even if no adults in the home speak Gaelic, the child still has the opportunity to use Gaelic with his or her siblings outside of the school environment. For seven of the case-study pupils (9% of the total), their siblings were the only source of Gaelic in the home. Two-thirds of all the pupils involved had Gaelic-speaking siblings: 40% of pupils one, and 27% two or more. The majority of these siblings were older than the pupils in the case-study, although given the young age (four to seven years old) of P1-3 pupils this is not surprising. Most of these siblings had attended or were attending a Gaelic-medium unit. In some cases, the unit had opened after older siblings had already begun school in English; there are likely families in which older siblings had experienced GME but their younger siblings were put into English-medium classrooms, although there were no such occurrences in the case study. Siblings, whether older or younger, can be a wonderful learning resource, although sociolinguistic surveys such as those described by MacKinnon (2001) indicate that children are unlikely to speak Gaelic amongst themselves without explicit prompting.

As regards Gaelic use in the home, over 95% of parents reported some Gaelic use in the home. This percentage is especially impressive when it is acknowledged that only around 88% of children had a Gaelic conversation partner, and that these were at varying degrees of language ability. It was most common for pupils to speak to parents, followed by siblings if they had them, and extended family members (see Table 9 above). Such numbers are encouraging, although the quantity, frequency, and quality of Gaelic used was not investigated. The amount of Gaelic used by some children may have been very small indeed (cf. Müller (2005)). Several parents commented in questionnaires that they desired their children to speak more Gaelic at home, although they were at a loss for how to encourage this. In some cases, children were reported as speaking *more* English at home once they entered school, even though immersion methods were used.

Parents have responded to the efforts of Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich in encouraging exposure to Gaelic from an early age. As a result of speaking Gaelic in the home or attending "Bumps and Babies" and "Parent and Child" groups, 27% of respondents ensured that Gaelic was spoken to or around their child from birth. A further 52% of pupils were reported by their parents to have begun learning Gaelic before the age of 3, mostly likely in a playgroup or *sgoil àraich*, leaving only 21% who were school-age (4-5 years) at their first exposure (see Table 9 above). Although Romaine (1995) regards any language learning from birth to 3 as a "first language", only 25% of parents considered their child to be a native speaker of Gaelic. This number concords well with Robertson's (2003: 251-2) conclusion that between a quarter and a third of pupils in GME could be classified as "mother tongue" speakers (quoted in Rogers & McLeod forthcoming 2006: 5). In terms of continued support for families once their child has begun school, only one-quarter of parents had friends or family in the neighbourhood who could speak Gaelic with the child; however, 61% of pupils were involved in an extra-curricular group that used Gaelic, such as *Sradagan* or music classes. Parents therefore, although relying on the education system as the child's main source of Gaelic, did make efforts to provide further exposure to Gaelic.

As discussed above, the voluntary nature of Gaelic-medium education tends to attract involved and supportive parents with a high level of commitment to the education system. These proactive parents are not always satisfied with the efforts of policy-makers and of individual schools, units, and teachers. Comann nam Pàrant (see section 3.1.3) provides a structure within which parents can express their views on their child's experience. While 87% of respondents felt that they received sufficient information and support from the school, and 95% felt that individual teachers were supportive of their child, many parents added critical comments on the education system in general and particularly questioned governmental commitment to Gaelic-medium education. The vast majority (91%) of parents were pleased with the progress of

their own child, yet paradoxically only 72% felt that all pupils were progressing satisfactorily.

One concern that was raised by many parents, both in response to specific questionnaire items and in the comments section, was their perceived inability to help their child learn. Even confident Gaelic speakers were sometimes unsure of the best approach to take, and were unclear about specific techniques learned in the classroom despite teacher efforts. Language was a barrier, as parents did not feel they could help without speaking perfect Gaelic. Two teachers did emphasise that any additional exposure to Gaelic in the home would be beneficial even if pronunciation and grammar were not perfect. Better communication between home and school, and support classes for parents (both Gaelic-specific and generally academic), could help alleviate these concerns.

Although 88% of parents felt they could assist their child with assignments, many added caveats. In terms of questions on Gaelic specifically, 79% felt that they were able to answer with help from other family members or resources such as dictionaries. However, parents were sometimes unsure which resources were the most helpful and appropriate. Most resources for parents, such as a series of bilingual books about playgroups produced in 2002 by Edinburgh City Council, are aimed at the very early stages of language development and are not reference works per se. Due to the low levels of adult literacy, if Gaelic is spoken by parents at all, material is needed to "help child and parent to learn together" (Stradling & MacNeil 2000: 4).

It was encouraging to see that 91% of parents found homework assignments clear to them and their child, since homework is the main means through which the parent discovers what the child is learning at school. A similarly high proportion also reported that the teacher provided sufficient aid for them to help, such as audiotapes or instructions for worksheets, and that the child was usually willing to complete assignments. Around 11% of parents were concerned that the amount and difficulty of homework were not

appropriate for their child's age and ability: in some cases this was because the parents felt that the work was not challenging enough or, conversely, was too taxing for such young pupils, and in other cases that the quantity of homework assigned was too great. Teachers did note that some parents were not at all willing to become involved in their child's learning, and would not, for example, sign off on reading diaries. Overall, however, the support provided by parents of pupils in Gaelic-medium education was viewed favourably by teachers and considered one of the benefits of teaching in GME.

6.2.2 – the use of books

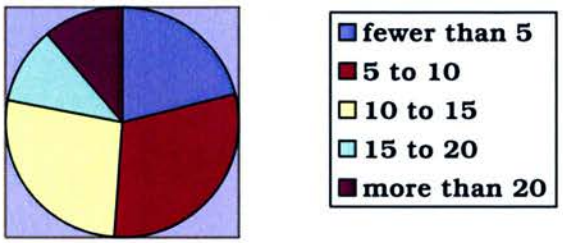
Parents supported the focus on literacy as a major goal of immersion education in the early years of primary school. Four of every five respondents felt that literacy was a "very important" component of ability in Gaelic. Over half of parents regularly read in Gaelic to their child, which is an encouraging number, especially considering that one-quarter of parents of pupils in the case study did not speak Gaelic at all. Almost three-quarters of parents reported that their child would independently look at or read Gaelic books in the home. This number is slightly higher than Stradling and MacNeil's (2000: 3) finding that "around three-fifths of parents reported that their children read Gaelic books that were not specifically related to their formal learning at school"; however, the numbers involved in the current questionnaire are too low to justify a direct comparison. The role that Gaelic books have in the home has potential for the development of pre-literate language skills through parent-child interaction.

Overall, the availability of literature and resources was low, which likely contributed to the levels of Gaelic reading in the home. Only 10% of homes had more than twenty children's books in Gaelic (see Table 10); Stradling and MacNeil (2000:2) had reported that 40% of families had over twenty Gaelic books in the home. In contrast, 95% had more than twenty children's books in English. It is therefore not surprising that 59% of parents indicated that their child preferred English books and only 19% expressed a clear preference for

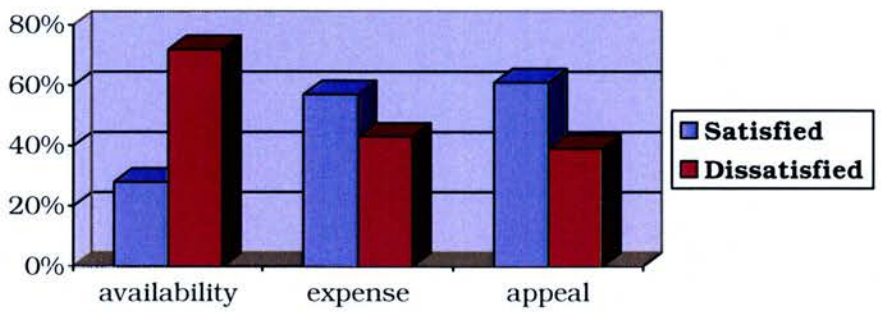
Gaelic. The child's reading ability did not appear to be a determining factor in his or her preference. Parents mentioned features such as illustrations, popular characters (especially from television and films), subject matter, and quantity as factors in their child's preference. Interestingly, children across schools shared similar favourite books in Gaelic, most notably *Dealbh is Facal* (Acair & Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (1987)), *A' Chàparaid* (Root (2001)), and *An Gruffalo* (Donaldson (2004))[11]. An investigation of the characteristics that make these selections popular could contribute to future publishing efforts.

Table 10 - Gaelic Children's Books in the Home

Gaelic Books in the Home



Parental Satisfaction with Gaelic Books



[11] These three books are all commercial translations from English originals.

One reason for the paucity of books in Gaelic found in children's homes is that parents are dissatisfied with what is available in Gaelic (see Table 10 above). This dissatisfaction extends to the availability of books in general, the expense of purchasing their own copies of books, and the appeal that books in Gaelic hold for their child. This last factor may mean that parents are reluctant to purchase Gaelic books, thus simultaneously limiting the child's exposure to Gaelic print and discouraging publication of further titles. A further difficulty is in accessing the available material. The situation has not improved much since Comunn na Gàidhlig's (1992: 64) statement that "as a rule, shops are reluctant to stock materials relating to Gaelic"; while major booksellers such as Blackwell's and Waterstone's often now are able to provide or order Gaelic books, and the advent of internet shopping through sites such as Comhairle nan Leabhraichean's have made purchasing less of an issue, readers in remote areas are still often unable to obtain new publications easily. Expense is also a major obstacle to many families in acquiring more Gaelic books. This situation is unfortunate, as Chall (1996: 107) states that "probably the most important factor in reading development is the wide reading that depends upon the easy accessibility of books."

Although the number of respondents who returned the follow-up questionnaire on Gaelic reading in the home was too small to analyse in the same way as the initial questionnaire as only 15 follow-up questionnaires were usable, the responses did provide some interesting insights. All of the respondents were satisfied with their child's progress through the *Storyworlds* reading scheme, and regularly listened to their child read. Only a third, however, listened to the accompanying tape (although the tape is not provided by all teachers). For those who did use the tape, all found it an aid to pronunciation and phrasing. Overall, the majority of these parents feel that *Storyworlds* was an effective means of teaching reading.

The responses to the follow-up questionnaire confirmed the results of the initial questionnaire by demonstrating the extent to which parents support

their Gaelic-medium child throughout his or her education, particularly as regards literacy. Three-quarters of the parents practiced "key words" from the reading scheme with their children and helped them learn letters and words. Half explicitly practised spelling; a third played word games. Although only six modelled reading in Gaelic every day, two-thirds of the children were exposed to Gaelic in print before starting school. The lists of Gaelic books provided by these parents also demonstrated the extent to which Gaelic literacy was valued in the home.

6.2.3 – audio-visual material and broadcasting

Parents also commented on television and radio programmes, which they often watched together with their children, and the value of having these other types of media available. Such resources are utilised by around two-thirds of parents, although not frequently. Games, CD-ROMs, websites, tapes, videos, radio, and television would seem to be ideal candidates for extra-curricular support as well as complementing the school curriculum. The range available is, however, limited and it can be difficult for parents to find and access these materials. Many parents mentioned that they would like to see more of this kind of resource, particularly as they are so popular with children in English. Board and card games are next to non-existent in Gaelic although these can be fun and subtle ways to encourage literacy. Because the reading in these games is non-intensive and yet can be essential in order to play, such games are a good way to demonstrate the non-academic purposes of reading. Their scarcity is a lost opportunity for peer and parent-child interaction leading to language development. Games on CD-ROMs also encourage literacy development and can reinforce vocabulary in particular. The increasing use of ICT in schools means that children can manipulate such technology well, including accessing the internet. Many websites for children, such as the BBC Alba education website, incorporate reading with high-quality graphics. The presentation of such material is very important, as children quickly recognise shoddy work.

"Books on tape" are very popular with the parents and teachers in the case study because they do not require direct interaction or supervision; even children as young as three can learn to operate a tape player and turn the page at the sound of the beep. Although audiotapes cannot replace the experience of reading a book together with an adult, they can be useful in exposing the child to spoken Gaelic and to the linear sequence of reading. While the *Storyworlds* reading scheme includes tapes of all the books, fewer than 10% of commercially produced children's books include a tape. Although tapes are agreed to be a helpful resource, only around 20% of parents and children listen to tapes; the use of tapes is more likely by those parents who are learners or who do not speak Gaelic themselves.

Radio programmes are also beneficial for introducing children to more Gaelic speakers and to a range of different accents, but young children may find it difficult to follow a purely auditory programme if they are learners or are too accustomed to the visual support of television. Children must rely solely on auditory input which may be lacking in context; listening to the radio also requires focused attention, which may be difficult for four- to seven-year-olds. For these reasons, radio programmes aimed at primary school pupils tend to be short and lively, with music and sound effects. Some have a definite pedagogical slant, while others are focused more on popular culture. Both types of programme are valuable in increasing the child's exposure to spoken Gaelic outside of the classroom context, and moreover are less costly to produce and air than their televised counterparts.

Videos and television programmes, often linked, are clearly the multimedia materials of choice both for parents and children and were mentioned by almost 80% of questionnaire respondents. Some programs are watched more frequently simply because they air at times suitable for children who are away at school most of the day. *Dè a-Nis?*, although aimed at slightly older children, is the most talked-about programme. Some parents record these programmes for later viewing, and several parents mentioned that they

make a special effort to watch Gaelic television with their children. Gaelic videos are also available commercially. These are often collections of the television programmes, but are sometimes independent or based on books. As with radio, television programmes and videos may incorporate specific reading-based activities, and almost universally include bright colours, a fast pace, and songs and music. Unfortunately, the limited selection of appropriate programmes means that children spend much of their television time watching popular English programmes, which are then discussed in English with their siblings and peers.

6.2.4 - social interaction

Various other extra-curricular activities in Gaelic are also available to pupils, although the range of these depends on the support of the school and the surrounding community. Somewhat surprisingly, schools outside of the traditional Gaelic-speaking areas tended to offer more in the way of such supplemental activities. Perhaps such provision is an attempt to compensate for the lack of a Gaelic environment in the area. Pupils often had the opportunity to attend or compete in local fèisean (short "festivals" of Gaelic arts tuition in song, music, dance and drama) or mods (national and local competitions in conversation, storytelling, poetry recitation, music, and singing). Participation in these events can lead to public recognition of their achievements, as well as a sense of belonging to the Gaelic community.

Two of the case study schools had Gaelic choirs. Most also offered music lessons outside of the curriculum related to Gaelic, for example singing, piping, and fiddling. Some pupils also had private tuition in music or in other cultural activities such as Highland dancing or shinty. However, these traditionally Gaelic activities are often not taught through Gaelic, both to encourage non-Gaelic speakers to participate and due to the lack of qualified Gaelic-speaking instructors. Although these activities are not directly related to literacy acquisition, they can help with literacy development (particularly those competitions which involve storytelling and poetry recitation) and can engender

pride and a sense of belonging which can increase motivation to learn Gaelic to fluency.

Peer interaction, which is crucial for language development, could be supported through providing opportunities for Gaelic-speaking children to interact outside of school, and in areas where population density is high enough, with pupils from other schools. Given the popularity of Gaelic-medium nurseries, usually organised by Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, the lack of continuity of play-groups for older pupils is unfortunate. The nation-wide youth group organised by Comunn na Gàidhlig, *Sradagan* ("Sparks"), was only available in association with one of the case-study schools. Parents commented that they would enrol their children in such groups if they were more widely available. The claims on pupils' non-school time are, however, large. With sport, music, and purely social activities as existing commitments, some pupils might very well view a Gaelic-medium group as further "work".

A community resource that was under-utilised in case-study schools was the population of older Gaelic speakers in the community. This group is likely to have the strongest skills in Gaelic; many are also retired and would be able to volunteer some of their time to spend with children in conversation, reading, and other language-based activities. Many Gaelic-medium units are located in areas with a significant number of older native speakers, and even those schools for which there a few fluent speakers living nearby could coordinate meetings in order to supplement children's exposure to Gaelic. In New Zealand, pairing with elders is an important aspect of Māori-medium education (Glynn & Berryman (2003)). Both generations benefit from this interaction. John Nisbet (1963: 52) noted that "there must still be a considerable amount of teaching material available to teachers of Gaelic from the living culture, which has not been gathered into a convenient form for use in the schools": this resource has still not been utilised, although the *Tobar an Dualchais* project based at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig has among its goals the digitisation of folklore archives for use in schools.

6.3 – effectiveness and satisfaction

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate "best practice" in teaching literacy in Gaelic-medium classrooms, rather than to assess the overall success of the Gaelic-medium education system. Nevertheless, some of the observations and conclusions drawn do relate to the system as a whole, and support certain tentative conclusions and recommendations regarding effectiveness and satisfaction. The goal of the Gaelic-medium education system at the primary level is to deliver an equivalent curriculum to English-medium pupils' while at the same time developing fluency in Gaelic and familiarity with Gaelic culture, as described in the National Guidelines for Gaelic 5-14 (SOED (1993)). In this regard, the system can be said to be largely successful. Although most pupils will not be entirely fluent in Gaelic by the end of P7 (HMIE (2005)), they certainly have a strong foundation in the language, and gain at least some of the advantages that bilingualism confers (see section 4.1.4).

As a whole, Gaelic-medium education has been shown to be effective (see section 3.1.4.2), although there is room for improvement in many areas. Specific policies at the national and local authority level continue to be revised in response to feedback from researchers, teachers, and parents. Levels of satisfaction among both teachers and parents are generally high. Nearly 90% of the parents who filled out questionnaires for this study stated that GME was meeting their expectations, and similarly high numbers were satisfied with their own child's progress. Another more tangible demonstration of the positive view of GME is the annual increase in the number of children enrolled in the system and the planning of further units and dedicated all-Gaelic schools. However, this annual increase is generally less than 5% and in some areas shows signs of slowing (see Tables 3 and 4). It is the rate of development rather than absolute numbers of pupils that is the concern, as it should be noted that pupil rolls all over Scotland are falling (www.scotland.gov.uk). However, there is still demand for GMUs in some areas that has not yet been addressed.

6.3.1 - facilities

As Gaelic-medium education has continued to expand into more widely spread geographical areas, into more local authorities, and into further units, some controversy has arisen over the facilities available to house both existing and new units and schools. Although authorities such as Highland Council and Argyll & Bute Council have the policy that "reasonable demand" for Gaelic-medium education is four pupils per year for the foreseeable future, in practice enrolment in some areas is much lower than this: in fact, 45% of Gaelic-medium classes in 2005-2006 had fewer than four pupils. These numbers may be due to low pupil population overall or to a lack of interest or commitment on the part of parents.

One dilemma for education authorities is that the teaching methods for GME, particularly in the early stages of immersion, require separate classrooms and staff fluent in Gaelic. Special arrangements such as building expansion or recruitment may therefore need to be made for a successful Gaelic unit. Although funding is not a major impediment due to the Specific Grants scheme, accusations of "favouritism" are not uncommon. Highland Council's "Gaelic Education and Early Years Strategy" (2002) acknowledges this attitude, noting that "English medium teachers and parents sometimes refer critically to Gaelic teachers having extra funding and smaller classes."

The teachers interviewed in the case study rarely commented on the number and size of the classrooms as a problem, although these varied greatly by school. They preferred to have the Gaelic-medium classrooms located near each other and somewhat isolated from the rest of the school, mainly in order to preserve a Gaelic atmosphere and thus encourage pupils to speak Gaelic at all times. Like Grammont's principle of one language = one parent (see section 4.1.3), some degree of segregation can enforce the language rules of the unit. If pupils consider certain classrooms or areas as Gaelic-speaking only they are more inclined to use the language when in those areas; a higher proportion of dedicated "Gaelic zones" would support language and literacy development.

6.3.2 - teachers

In both observation and in the wider base of questionnaires and interviews, teachers were occasionally hesitant about specific skills, although they expressed confidence in their overall ability in the classroom both in terms of language development and content teaching. Likewise, 95% of parents were satisfied with their child's teacher. However, because the pupils involved were at the early stages of primary education, most parents had no basis for comparison to other teachers. Additionally, very few parents spoke Gaelic with the teacher, and therefore could not directly assess his or her language skills. Most of the concerns related to the efficacy of teachers have to do with the low overall numbers of qualified teachers and their preparation for the profession, which will be discussed in sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.2.1.

Most Gaelic-medium teachers expressed enthusiasm for their job, but some felt great pressure from parents and the Gaelic community to be ideal speakers and teachers. Classroom observation revealed that teachers vary widely in terms of their language ability, clarity of teaching, and the subsequent achievements of their pupils; these conclusions were verified over the course of repeated observations and so were not dependent on specific situations. Teachers also demonstrated a range of ability in other areas of teaching, such as rapport with the pupils, classroom control, and discipline. Although some degree of variation is natural and unavoidable in any population, the range of competence exhibited by teachers was extremely broad, so much so that pupils' academic progress in some of the classrooms was undoubtedly affected as a result.

Part of the reason for this variation is the diversity in the background of teachers, both in terms of language and education. The older teachers transferred from English-medium teaching when the first Gaelic-medium units were opened; many of the youngest teachers attended these units or those schools involved in the Bilingual Education Project. The disparity between their experiences of the education system is therefore large. The differences arising

as a result of this variability, including features of language ability, pedagogical approach, and teaching competence, suggest the need for both quality control (see section 6.4.2.1) and increased in-service training to ensure that "best practice" is disseminated and that the less effective teachers are identified and provided with the support they need to better educate their pupils.

6.3.3 - resources

Although teachers were full of praise for recent improvements in resources, this remains an area needing further effort; overall satisfaction with the availability and effectiveness of resources remains low. Most teachers were satisfied with the *quantity* of material available for P1-3, yet only half were satisfied in terms of *range*, that is, the different genres represented. Two-thirds of teachers were satisfied with the *quality* of resources. These numbers are disappointing considering the efforts of Stòrlann, other publishing companies, and education authorities. Furthermore, although teachers made both general and specific comments about the resources they would like to see produced, there seems to be little interaction between teachers and publishers. A better mechanism for soliciting and acting upon teachers' input regarding materials may represent an important opportunity to develop Gaelic literacy in appropriate directions.

In the Gaelic sector, the major publishers are Stòrlann, Cànan, and Acair. Acair, based in Stornoway, was established in 1977 in association with the Bilingual Education project and has an "emphasis upon publishing Gaelic school texts, children's books and community education material" (MacKinnon 1987: 11). Acair now works extensively with Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig, the National Gaelic Resource Centre launched in 1999 by the Scottish Executive Education Department to provide and coordinate educational material. Before the establishment of Stòrlann, resources for schools were mainly produced by the Primary and Secondary Review Groups (MacLeod 2003: 9). Cànan focuses on publications for learners. There are other small publishers that produce a range of specialised materials, such as Clàr and

Gairm. Education authorities also continue to make a substantial contribution. An indicator of the restricted nature of Gaelic publishing is low staff numbers: in 2001 only three Gaelic publishers employed full-time staff (Robertson 2001a: 90).

In terms of distribution, Comhairle nan Leabhraichean stocks all in-print Gaelic books. Comhairle nan Leabhraichean is also responsible for

> a' brosnachadh foillseachadh leabhraichean Gàidhlig, irisean agus pàipearan, agus a' feuchainn ri dhèanamh cinnteach gu bheil iad air an leughadh fad is farsaing (Comhairle na Gàidhealtachd 1998: 10)
>
> and sgrìobhadh Gàidhlig a leasachadh agus a brosnachadh gu h-àraidh tro fharpaisean nàiseanta an dà chuid do chloinn 's do dh'inbhich[12] (*ibid.* 17).

The limitations of these commercial publishers are evident in persistent resource shortages. Moray Watson (2003: 158) pinpoints the limited availability of texts, especially in comparison with English, as a reason for widespread lags in the development of Gaelic reading ability.

More positively, the reading scheme *Storyworlds* has proven to be immensely popular with teachers. It is viewed as effective by both teachers and parents in terms of teaching children the basics of literacy. Many teachers were reluctant to criticise the scheme as it represents such an improvement over previously available materials. Yet in the case-study classrooms, *Storyworlds* as a complete reading scheme was not being utilised to its full potential. For example, teachers found it difficult to set up reading groups that were of an appropriate size but still allowed pupils to progress at individually determined rates. Some pupils expressed frustration at having to read every book in the series; many progressed quickly through each book and then got bored reviewing it for the rest of the week. At the same time, those pupils who were struggling tended to fall farther and farther behind as there are not sufficient

[12] "encouraging the publishing of Gaelic books, magazines and newspapers, and trying to make sure these are read far and wide...developing and encouraging writing in Gaelic, especially through national competitions for both children and adults"

supplementary materials yet translated. Teachers feel the need for further schemes to complement *Storyworlds*. With only one scheme in use, pupils could compare progress easily, and this can be detrimental to their self-esteem. Teachers and pupils also expressed concern over the repetitive nature of the worksheets. The majority of teachers chose only a selection to complement each book, thus putting the emphasis on the actual reading taking place.

Although the response to *Storyworlds* has been largely positive, there are some issues of translation and standardisation that are not addressed satisfactorily. The use of a single translator, Anna Nic Dhòmhnaill, does add a degree of consistency, although she is constrained by the original text. From a linguistic perspective, some of the challenges include the use of idioms, the risk of calquing English grammatical constructions, and the "Gaelicisation" of words for which there is no widely known Gaelic equivalent; from a cultural perspective, topics such as cricket, attending mosque, and traditional English fairy tales do little to promote a Gaelic world-view in accordance with the National Guidelines for Gaelic-medium education.

Because Gaelic does not have an official standard, the language used in *Storyworlds* can productively be viewed as setting a standard for primary classrooms. Its widespread use, regularised format and style, and consistent vocabulary all contribute to its role as a language moderator. Pupils across Scotland learn from the same materials regardless of the teacher and teaching method, they are instructed to reference the books for spelling and phrasing, and teachers consciously model their speech on the text while teaching reading. In some cases, the teacher may have to alter his or her preferred spelling or word choice to match what is used in the scheme, thereby preventing confusion resulting from the use of multiple forms. It is acceptable and even encouraged for the teacher to use dialectal variants, but he or she must make explicit that the word he or she uses and the equivalent word in the text have similar meanings.

Each school had several sets of the tapes that accompany *Storyworlds*, which could be played to improve listening comprehension of different dialects (each of the four readers has a distinct accent), but these tapes were an under-utilised resource. In one case-study school, the teacher efficiently used the tapes for children to follow along when she and the classroom assistant were both busy working with other groups. The use of tapes was most common in the P1 classrooms, and they were never seen used in a P3 classroom. Those parents who received tapes as part of their child's homework packet were very positive about their benefits, but sending tapes home was not common: only three of the case-study teachers did so. Although tapes are available through level seven of the series, teachers usually discontinue their use once they feel pupils are capable of reading independently, usually around level three. Yet even older, confident pupils can still benefit from tapes and from being read aloud to, as this listening practice can improve their pronunciation, diction, and phrasing. Pupils' comprehension may also benefit when they are not expending so much energy decoding (McGuinness 2004: 211).

The effectiveness of books that are not part of the reading scheme is determined by a combination of what is available and how the teacher chooses to use it. One example is dictionaries. Although P1 and P2 pupils are not yet competent enough readers to benefit from independent use of a dictionary, teachers can help them to become familiar with the concept of referencing by modelling dictionary use and by having children's dictionaries readily accessible in the classroom for children to browse on their own. There are several appropriate options for primary classrooms, although no single dictionary is sufficient on its own (see section 5.3.6). Some classrooms had a simple thesaurus and other reference materials such as a world map labelled in Gaelic, but these were never seen used, nor commented on by teachers. It may be the case that teaching the use of these types of reference works is delayed until English has been introduced because suitable materials are not available in Gaelic.

The over-reliance on *Storyworlds* as pupils' main reading material was evident in some case-study classrooms where the arrangement of books on the shelves in the classroom library did not change between observation visits that were months apart; presumably none had been read. As described in section 5.2.5 on resources, classrooms varied widely in the number of fiction books available (see also Table 7 and Appendix D). Yet greater numbers did not necessarily indicate greater or more frequent usage. Schools receive a free copy of every new book published by Stòrlann; unfortunately these books often simply get added to the bookshelf by the teacher, without introducing the book to the children, thus lessening the likelihood of their noticing it or bothering to read it. In other classrooms pupils are familiar with the contents of the library and have favourite books that they return to again and again. Because of the limited number of books available, by P3 the pupils have often read all of the books in their class library numerous times.

Two other areas in which improvement in both materials and teaching techniques are needed are those of "reading for information" and "big books". A detrimental cycle has arisen in some ways: because teachers have so few of these resources, they have become used to teaching without them; the resources that are available are therefore underutilised. This situation is unfortunate for both teachers and pupils. The teachers are required to do extra preparation for lessons in subjects such as science and health, while the pupils do not have the opportunity to become accustomed to a variety of genres and ways of reading, such as using an index and skimming for information. The new series *Discovery Worlds* will help alleviate this particular need, but as with *Storyworlds*, teachers must be careful not to become over-reliant on a single scheme. HMIE (2005) also mention materials "relating to science, religious and moral education, social subjects, personal and social education and drama" as being very scarce. Training teachers in how to maximise the value of the resources available, and efficiently select and translate English material, would help to alleviate the pressure caused by the paucity of resources.

The issue of translating material into Gaelic is a contentious one, particularly in terms of funding. Most children by P3 are more fluent readers in English than Gaelic, or at least equally so. Given the popularity and availability of English books, it is likely that children will prefer to read these in the original. However, reading the English first and then rereading the Gaelic can be an excellent scaffolding technique for those struggling with Gaelic. Being familiar with the characters and storyline allows the child to focus on the use of language, and translations such as *An Gruffalo* (Donaldson (2004)) and *Oidhche Mhath, Sam* (Hest (2001)) are very popular in the classroom. Yet translations, if not done carefully, can contribute to non-idiomatic, English-influenced Gaelic. Original writing, especially from the younger generations, should be encouraged and promoted as a further expression of language and culture.

Although teachers are certainly justified in their requests for further materials, some resources that are readily available were hardly used; other resources are difficult to come by, even if teachers are aware of them. For example, in over fifty sessions of observation, only one teacher was seen to refer to an alphabet chart, although these were displayed, sometimes in multiples, in all classrooms. The importance of resources for reading and writing is noted by Gaskins (2003: 49), who shows that "classrooms where children make satisfactory progress in literacy" are typically rich in these resources. Yet it seems that teachers develop preferences for certain resources and methods and habitually use a relatively narrow spectrum of approach. The introduction of new developments in pedagogy often is accompanied by publicity; these methods may be adopted without feasibility analysis and to the detriment of the system already in place. Piloting resources as they are developed and follow-up analysis of their use and effectiveness would help focus future production and maximise efforts. Much progress is needed in this crucial area of language revitalisation if "the ultimate aim in Gaelic's case is that the development and the production of written materials will gradually

increase the level of usage of the language in everyday life" (Ekos Limited 2001: 3).

6.3.4 - techniques

Overall, the combination of techniques and materials used by case-study teachers was successful, as most pupils were making good progress in reading by the end of P1 and continued to develop literacy skills in P2 and P3. Nevertheless, differences in achievements between classrooms were clearly apparent in the pupils' skill levels in the later observation sessions. Since all teachers used *Storyworlds*, and had similar supplementary materials (see the book list in Appendix D), it is techniques and teaching styles that account for these differences. The purpose here is to identify "best practice" while keeping in mind that what works for one teacher will not work for all. In addition, much of the content that must be taught is mandated by national regulations which limit teachers' choices in terms of pedagogical approaches. Even so, it was apparent that some teaching techniques were more effective than others for early literacy acquisition.

Techniques diverged from the beginning, including such basics as teaching letters (for a review of literacy topics taught in P1-3, see section 5.3). Although the order of introduction of letters varied, this factor did not seem to have an effect on the pupils' learning. By the end of P1, any disparities in timing of introduction had evened out and nearly all pupils were efficiently identifying and producing letters. The ways in which teachers encouraged children to recognise and form the letter, and the amount of meaningful repetition involved, had a greater impact than the order and timing of letter learning.

The formation of letters is largely dictated by "Foundations of Writing", but teachers had different ways of describing the movements involved. Using exactly the same phrasing each time was crucial to avoid confusion. As the pupils repeated the directions for formation while writing the letter, their

learning was reinforced. While most teachers taught the sounds of letters first rather than their names, some emphasised the sound by focusing on spoken words with that initial letter, others used pictures, and others linked the sound to the shape of the letter. Some teachers, of course, used a combination of these methods (see Appendix B for a description of these methods in use). Activities that catered for the different types of learning (auditory, visual, tactile, and kinaesthetic) were especially beneficial. For children learning Gaelic solely at school, a limited vocabulary was an issue when these pupils were asked to think of words starting with a particular letter or identify pictures. In order to accommodate the needs of these pupils, the most successful teachers constantly amplified their explanations to make the lesson as clear as possible.

Generally, the types of activities that teachers used for teaching letters were repeated when teaching key words, the unit of instruction simply being larger. Nearly all the case-study teachers used flashcards; those that did not have them separately prepared still used flashcard-like techniques in which they would point to a single letter or word for identification. Flashcards were effective in the short term, although pupils were sometimes unable to read a word in context that they had properly identified on a flashcard. When pupils struggled with key words, especially those that were irregular, some teachers offered mnemonics having to do with the appearance, sound, or meaning of the word. While this is a good approach, some of the clues offered were too sophisticated for five- and six-year-olds.

All the case-study teachers displayed key words in their classrooms, but how they chose to utilise these as a resource depended on which techniques were used. Whether phonics or "look-and-say" methods were emphasised, the teachers needed to call attention to the key words and actively incorporate them into lessons for the display to be effective. As with books in the library, children were unlikely to reference a display without modelling and specific tasks that directed their attention towards it. Because the displays of key

words were teacher-produced and therefore directly relevant to lessons, they were used more frequently than commercial posters (a sample of a word list can be found in Appendix B).

As in teaching specific items, teachers introduce a variety of methods in teaching word attack skills. The usefulness of techniques that teachers explicitly teach to pupils will vary depending on each pupil's abilities. Most techniques will fit into a general scheme such as phonics or the language experience approach, although a blend of methods was observed in all classrooms (see section 6.1.2 and Appendix B). The pupils who were making the most progress in reading were often those who could identify the strategies that they used for unknown words, even if not necessarily with the same terms the teacher used. Unfortunately, teachers can give pupils mixed messages, such as prompting with phoneme stretching after having taught a segmentation approach. Some pupils also successfully learned a strategy such as looking for "little words" but were only able to use this as a game and were unable to read sequentially.

Phonics was the most frequently used approach and seemed to be the most effective method for teaching early word recognition, but this assumption could not be tested empirically as other strategies were taught alongside phonics and it was often difficult to tell what combination of strategies individual pupils were using. The emphasis on learning key words appeared to be beneficial in the early stages, although it was not so clear that pupils needed continued practice once they attained a measure of fluency. Some pupils tended to become over-reliant on key words, even to the extent of skipping words they did not immediately recognise. The most effective teachers constantly monitored pupils' habits and progress to ensure that they were using reading strategies appropriately and as taught.

Listening to pupils read aloud is one of the few reliable ways teachers have to check their developing skills, although, as noted in section 4.4.2, ability to read aloud does not necessarily signify comprehension. Nor does

listening to a pupil read aloud allow the teacher to determine which strategies a pupil is accessing. In fact, one mark of fluent reading is that the reading process is opaque. A further concern regarding reading aloud is that because it is such a frequent activity in primary classrooms, case-study teachers often did not give the pupil undivided attention. While it is not desirable to correct every miscue, the reading lesson and the child reading should have the teacher's full attention. The other pupils should be made to understand that they are not to interrupt during this time. The teacher's attitude toward reading is interpreted by the pupils through his or her behaviour during such activities, and they will devalue reading aloud if the teacher's inattention presents it as an auxiliary task or a boring necessity.

6.3.5 – overall success

Reading ability is of course only one measure of a child's progress in the primary years, albeit one of the most critical ones. In the Gaelic context especially, reading is important as an indicator of a child's language development. For those pupils for whom Gaelic is a new language, it is imperative that their progress is carefully tracked to ensure that they develop the literacy skills on which future academic success in both Gaelic and English depends. While rates of progress will differ, certain milestones must be met in order for the pupil to benefit from his or her education; the National Guidelines' attainment levels provide a good outline of these skills. Ideally, the children's language use should be observed outwith as well as within the classroom, as one of the goals of Gaelic-medium education is to produce Gaelic speakers who will use the language in all contexts.

As with reading, pupils must have reached a sufficient level of oral fluency in order to function independently in Gaelic without the support of the primary teacher. In most schools, although pupils performed well in the classroom, they did not use Gaelic outside the classroom, even to class peers and older pupils within the unit who they knew to be Gaelic speakers. If a Gaelic-speaking teacher or member of staff spoke to them in Gaelic, most

pupils would make an effort to reply in Gaelic. Yet in only two schools were pupils observed to spontaneously speak Gaelic to one another outside the classroom, and in one case this behaviour was only present when a Gaelic-speaking teacher was nearby, although she was not directly supervising the children. Gaelic-speaking parents were also discouraged by the paucity of Gaelic spoken at home; although 95% of parents reported that their children spoke Gaelic at home at least occasionally, there were only three homes in which Gaelic was the preferred language of interaction. For children to become balanced bilinguals, they need to use their language outside of an academic context. This creates an additional challenge for Gaelic-medium education, as schools need to find ways to expand the language to all domains of use in order for children to fully benefit from instruction within the classroom.

6.4 - challenges for further development

Several teachers commented on how Gaelic-medium education had improved in recent years in terms of enrolment, resources, and networking. However, when teachers were asked to identify weaknesses and challenges, they each listed numerous items; there was substantial amount of agreement amongst teachers as to the priorities. Some of the teachers' concerns, such as the shortage of qualified teachers, have also been raised by education authorities and other groups involved in Gaelic-medium education; these are matters of national concern. It is important at this stage not to become complacent about the progress and achievements thus far, as the situation of Gaelic and Gaelic-medium education is still precarious. The draft National Plan for Gaelic (2006), prepared by Bòrd na Gàidhlig, addresses many of the issues relating to Gaelic-medium education and suggests concrete plans for future development.

6.4.1 - recent progress

The successful growth of Gaelic-medium education has led to additional pressure in terms of provision, emphasising "the need for ever-increasing

resources of every kind – teachers, advisers, trainers, financial back-up, printed resources, and hardware and software to sustain the demand associated with the development" (MacNeil 2000: 285). While teachers named many areas in which improvement is still needed, they also recognised the progress that has been made since they entered the profession. Developments in resources were by far the most frequently mentioned change, with positive comments made on the increase in both quantity and quality. Stòrlann's role as a central resource centre for producing and distributing Gaelic educational material was mentioned often, as were the contributions of the BBC.

Clearly, the increased availability of, in the words of one primary teacher, "well thought-out, attractive, purposeful material" has meant a great deal to teachers in their daily activities. Teachers appreciated the reduction in workload that was a result of the improved provision, as they are now able to devote more time to instruction and lesson planning. Translation and pasting-over English resources are still common tasks, but self-produced teaching aids are becoming less prevalent (see section 5.2.4). Teachers were also appreciative of the increased availability of classroom assistants and other support. Better training and conference opportunities, particularly Learning and Teaching Scotland's "A' Chuisle" and its offshoot Gàidhlig Air-Loidhne, were also noted as positive changes.

Many teachers commented on changes in the perception of Gaelic-medium education, using words such as "well-established", "accepted", and "integrated". A positive public view of GME is an important, if occasionally over-looked, aspect of its success. One teacher emphasised that there is a better awareness of the benefits of immersion and bilingual education, and a more positive attitude toward such programmes. In addition, teachers appreciated good promotion of the system and a "political will" for GME to succeed. Although these factors do not affect teachers directly, they do have an impact on the support that teachers can expect from outwith the school. However, the very success of Gaelic-medium units has created new challenges.

The popularity of GME, accompanied by increases in pupil numbers, had led to more and more pupils coming from non-Gaelic-speaking homes. Some teachers are concerned about this weaker language background and the implications that it has for effective teaching of literacy and other skills. Overall, however, teachers view the changes they have observed and experienced since the inception of GME as positive and forward-looking.

6.4.2 – teacher recruitment and retention

The greatest challenge facing Gaelic-medium education, which is recognised by anyone even tangentially involved, is that of teacher recruitment. Although shortages are not as evident at the primary as at the secondary level, all but one of the seven education authorities interviewed confirmed that they had experienced or were experiencing difficulty in staffing. With parents pushing for more units to open, and increased enrolment at existing units (see Robertson's annual report for detailed numbers), such difficulties will only increase. Class sizes at the moment are in an acceptable range even under recent regulations introduced by the Scottish Executive, and composite classes are still common due to low pupil numbers, but increased enrolment could change this situation. The imminent retirement of older teachers, who comprise a large proportion of Gaelic-medium teachers, will exacerbate the staffing problem.

A substantial increase in recruitment is needed to address the issue of teacher shortages. The number of teachers becoming newly qualified to teach in Gaelic-medium primary units is small, only between three and eighteen per year, with an average of eleven. According to the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (2002: 49),

> minimum annual demand is projected as 20 Primary and 13 Secondary GME teachers, but there is no doubt that these figures will require to rise substantially if the essential growth in GME provision is to be achieved.

These numbers are not being met, as not even the available budgeted places are filled (HMIE (2005)). Other paths into the profession include already qualified teachers who take courses in Gaelic, and Gaelic speakers who are teaching in English-medium schools or who have left teaching for various reasons. According to a 2005 report by the Gaelic Medium Teacher's Action Group, over one third of primary teachers able to teach in Gaelic are not currently doing so. Gaelic speakers teaching in English have varying reasons for their decision, ranging from relocation concerns to a lack of confidence in their academic language abilities. Furthermore, the limited career pathways for teachers may discourage young people from entering the profession (Scottish Executive 2005: 16).

Existing Gaelic-medium teachers expressed concern over the fluency and capability of new teachers, noting that very few speakers of Gaelic as a first language are choosing to enter the profession. The wide range of classroom practice is also a challenge. HMIE (2005) describes one education authority as providing "an annual opportunity for all Gaelic teachers to come together to discuss common issues... to establish consistency of practice"; this authority also invited sole teachers from neighbouring authorities to attend. One teacher made the astute comment that staff *retention* as well as recruitment is an issue. The issue of recruitment is compounded by teachers taking maternity leave, switching to English-medium classrooms, developing other careers, and retiring. Incentives to stay in or return to the profession could minimise the extent of these changes. Innovative solutions such as employing retired teachers on a part-time basis or involving them in teacher training could also help.

The chronic teacher shortage makes replacing a teacher who is off for medical reasons or who transfers to another school very difficult, as evidenced by one of the case-study schools. Short-term needs are even more difficult to address, with few supply teachers being Gaelic-speaking, especially outside of traditionally Gaelic areas. In addition to primary and secondary teachers (both

general and subject area), Gaelic-speaking specialists are sorely needed. There is a definite lack of Gaelic-speaking ancillary staff, from classroom assistants, janitors, and cooks to educational specialists such as psychologists and support-for-learning teachers. Subject specialists in music, art, physical education, health, and so forth are scarce even at the primary level, and may be peripatetic visiting teachers. Such specialists are unlikely to be Gaelic-speaking; even if they are, the majority of their training will have been through English. The efforts of Comunn na Gàidhlig in promoting careers in Gaelic-medium teaching with "Thig a Theagasg" are to be commended, but even greater effort is necessary to meet ongoing demands.

6.4.2.1 – teacher training

Training was another issue that came up in a majority of teacher responses. Even those who were veteran teachers expressed a need for more training, particularly with regard to meeting the unique challenges of immersion education. Issues of language ability also arose in conjunction with the fluency of teachers and the lack of linguistic assessment. In general, it was felt that the degrees currently available for entry into Gaelic-medium education, both at undergraduate and PGDE level, were not sufficiently focused on the special issues associated with Gaelic and immersion education in general. Teaching placements during an education degree were also considered suboptimal, with the main issues being that not all teachers were able to be assigned to Gaelic-medium units, and that many schools never benefited from trainee teachers.

All teachers are required to register with the General Teaching Council for Scotland, for which they must have completed a teacher training course, either a four-year BEd (Bachelor of Education) or a one-year PGDE (Professional Graduate Diploma in Education, formerly PGCE [Certificate]). These courses are available at seven initial teacher education institutions in Scotland, with Gaelic modules offered at the University of Glasgow, Strathclyde University, and Aberdeen University. In 2004 a distance-learning option was

introduced by Strathclyde in cooperation with the University of the Highlands and Islands Millennium Institute. This option is currently available through Aberdeen University and Lews Castle College; it is hoped to be expanded to Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Colaiste Beinn na Faoghla, and Lochaber College (Scottish Executive 2005: 2). However, for any of these courses, completion of the Gaelic module is *not* required to enter Gaelic-medium teaching; older teachers who are transferring into Gaelic-medium may be fluent in Gaelic but are not likely to have had any formal training in immersion techniques.

The lack of a fully Gaelic-medium pathway to teaching is considered by many teachers to be an obstacle to further development of the system. The Gaelic module of the PGDE at Strathclyde University is the most popular course for teacher qualification, with an average of three graduates per year. Nevertheless, it is recognised as inadequate to prepare teachers for the demands of a Gaelic-medium primary classroom by both Strathclyde staff and by graduates themselves. In the 36-week course, only 24 hours are devoted to Gaelic. Much of this contact time involves looking at resources and examples of good practice. All practical work and theory is in English, although 50-70% of student placements are in Gaelic-medium units. Other than the application, initial interview, and written exercise necessary to be admitted to the course, little further formal language assessment is undertaken. Personal language development is not part of the course, although many teacher trainees are not confident about their abilities. More rigorous preparation would help to ensure the competence of newly qualified Gaelic-medium teachers.

Teachers were also eager for more training as a part of continuing professional development. Termly in-service workshops were common. Off-site day courses were also attended each term by approximately half the respondents, with the other half attending such courses annually. Conferences on Gaelic-medium education, such as "A' Chuisle", were not as popular as local training and networking opportunities (although this may be because so few exist), partly due to the inconvenience and cost in finding supply teachers

and travelling for several days. Individual courses for Gaelic-specific professional development were also quite rare. The limited training available to teachers is not restricted to the Gaelic situation. Baker (1997a: 139), discussing Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, criticises the current system:

> Only rarely do Teacher Training programs provide preparation for classrooms where there will be a mixture of first and second language children, and where both languages need to be used. This reflects the relatively small amount of practical help available from research and scholarly writing on bilingual methodology.

Teachers commented that the majority of their development came about through experience, and in some cases, trial-and-error. In questionnaires and interviews, even veteran teachers who spoke Gaelic as a first language admitted to sometimes feeling overwhelmed by the pressures of new terminology and the register of speech necessary for teaching. Many teachers commented that further training in this regard would be helpful.

The lack of a support system for teachers, in terms of staff, precedents, and resources, further compromises their effectiveness. Around a quarter of Gaelic-medium teachers are responsible for all the classes within the unit, and therefore do not have Gaelic-speaking peers in the school with whom to compare techniques and share ideas and resources. Most teachers occasionally turned to other Gaelic-medium teachers for support, including teachers from other schools within the authority, personal acquaintances (for example, those who had earned their degrees together), and contacts made at conferences. Teachers rarely received direct support from parents or from the community such as assistance in the classroom or school outings. Online resources, particularly in a database being developed by Gàidhlig Air-Loidhne, are becoming valuable sources of material; the BBC Alba education website was also mentioned. The majority of teachers had access to websites, and about two-thirds of those teachers who used them found websites a helpful resource.

Teachers were also concerned about the small number of experienced teachers in Gaelic-medium education. Encouraging better links between

schools and among teachers could compensate for the lack of training opportunities. Several teachers lobbied for independent Gaelic-medium schools, although this may be a greater challenge than anticipated, given the range of public reaction in early 2006 to converting Sleat Primary (one of the case-study schools) and schools in the Western Isles such as Stoneybridge Primary in South Uist to dedicated all-Gaelic schools. One teacher felt that non-composite classes would maximise teachers' time and efficiency and provide pupils with more targeted instruction; another was concerned that teachers would experience "burn-out" from the pressures to create materials, manage composite classes, and be a Gaelic role model.

Many of the issues surrounding teacher training, recruitment, and retention are complex, and need to be addressed in forward-thinking ways. Changes will take time to implement, such as improving continuity to secondary education, and the viewing of Gaelic-medium education as a "lifelong learning experience" both for pupils and teachers. To summarise, HMIE (2005) identified three general weaknesses of Gaelic-medium teachers that need to be addressed:

- lack of confidence with ascertaining levels of attainment [of pupils], where teachers were unable to compare and moderate with other colleagues because of geographical isolation;
- Gaelic-medium primary teachers lacking confidence in curricular areas such as science, technology and ICT; and
- too little time using Gaelic as the language of learning and teaching, sometimes due to lack of teacher skill with the language.

6.4.3 – language maintenance

Many other changes that teachers viewed as essential to the continuing success of Gaelic-medium education were long-term, with a majority having to do with sociolinguistic perceptions. Teachers were particularly concerned about the type of Gaelic that children used, and the situations in which they spoke it. One teacher described the goal as "reinforcing natural Gaelic", thus indicating an awareness that Gaelic as used in primary classrooms is only one register and thus represents only one aspect of the language. A challenge to educators, therefore, is to provide other opportunities for children to use

Gaelic, and with different interlocutors. This challenge is reflected in the desire of teachers and parents for children to use Gaelic outside of school. One suggestion was to involve parents more in their children's education, and encourage parents themselves to become fluent in Gaelic. There is no national infrastructure currently in place for parents to acquire the language, although Comann nam Pàrant and individual schools do offer some options.

Parental commitment to their child's education, to the support of the language, and to Gaelic-medium education as an entire system rather than just at the primary level is extremely important, since pupils are too young to make their own decisions at the age when immersion education begins. Although GME is voluntary and is often initiated by parent interest, a surprising number of parents did not seem to be directly involved in their child's schoolwork, even when teachers had frameworks in place requesting them to do so (see section 6.2.1). Sustaining interest in GME is essential for further development. More and more pupils are needed to counteract the overall decline in speakers if education is to be considered a successful part of the language revitalisation movement.

6.4.4 - enrolment for expansion

Maintaining and increasing pupil enrolment was mentioned repeatedly by teachers as a concern. Teachers recognised that "keeping the numbers up" in GME would be a challenge, and suggested several solutions. Not surprisingly, parents were targeted as key to success. Although teachers had noted that Gaelic-medium education was more prominent than it had ever been, some felt that the system needed even more recognition. One education advisor felt that the system had reached "saturation point", as evidenced by the plateau in the development of new Gaelic-medium units and pupil enrolment (see Tables 3 and 4). Greater promotion of Gaelic and the benefits of immersion education, already done to some extent by local authorities, were strongly supported by teachers who felt the need to dispose of public uncertainty and inaccurate perceptions of GME. "Outreach to communities"

was mentioned as one way to spread a positive view of GME. A concerted, multi-pronged promotional campaign backed by solid research evidence will be necessary if GME is to expand as hoped, and thus continue to contribute to language revitalisation.

Conclusions and Evaluation

The aim of this thesis was to analyse the acquisition of literacy in Gaelic-medium primary classrooms. This aim was achieved through a case study consisting of seven P1-3 classrooms which were observed throughout the school year 2004-2005; the case study was supplemented by questionnaires and interviews. These conclusions will draw on thematic analysis to describe a composite picture of "best practice" for teaching literacy in Gaelic-medium education as observed in the case-study classrooms. The conclusions will also address the effectiveness of the study in terms of achieving its aims; what this thesis reveals about the themes addressed in Chapters Three and Four, including Gaelic sociolinguistics, literacy in Gaelic, and the role of literacy in developing bilingualism and revitalising minority languages; and suggest some areas for further research.

The methodology chosen (see section 2.2) was largely effective in providing a balanced overview of literacy acquisition. Classroom observation in particular successfully generated large amounts of data, not all of which could be analysed here. Relatively high response rates of 43% and 86% for the two teacher questionnaires, and 72% and 36% for the two parent questionnaires, contribute to the accuracy of the conclusions as well as indicating a representative (albeit not random) sample of the target population. Greater participation and more extensive observation are desirable in any case study, yet for a small-scale and short-term project the results of this study are adequate for the purposes of analysis.

In terms of addressing some of the gaps described in the literature review (Chapter One), the restrictions on the case study in terms of sample size, coverage, and time, as well as the limitations of a single researcher, mean that any contributions will necessarily be small in scope. However, because there is next to no data available on literacy acquisition in Gaelic, any contribution is significant. As has already been emphasised, current use of the

language is not well researched. Although language revitalisation efforts now encompass a wide range of areas from political representation to cultural festivals, the effects of such efforts are rarely analysed. Gaelic-medium education in particular has been the focus of much development but little assessment. Without understanding which efforts for promoting Gaelic language use are successful, and why, further progress is impeded and future efforts may be misdirected. This thesis is concerned with only one aspect of language use, literacy, and that for the most part in the restricted context of the primary classroom; similar and more in-depth studies into other topics would contribute to more efficient and effective language planning.

Despite the narrow focus of the case study, analysing literacy acquisition in Gaelic-medium classrooms also provided insight into themes such as perceptions of Gaelic, the challenges of immersion education, and the development of bilingualism in a largely monolingual society. In terms of Gaelic sociolinguistics, responses from teachers and parents, as well as educational policies, indicated that literacy in Gaelic is considered an essential skill, even though adult literacy levels are relatively low at 45%. Although Gaelic had historically been a literary language, it survived into the twentieth century as a largely oral language with a rich tradition of story-telling, poetry, and song; comments from parents suggest that although oral ability is still valued from a cultural perspective, literacy is considered indicative of fluency. This shift in perspective may be due to the emphasis on literacy in the primary curriculum, as for many children Gaelic is solely or primarily a school language.

The case study also revealed some of the attitudes toward Gaelic-medium education, although this aspect was not emphasised in questionnaires and interviews. Because the population sample was necessarily skewed toward those in favour of GME (consisting entirely of pupils, teachers, and parents who were involved in the system), these attitudes are not necessarily representative of the general public. However, the vested interest of the respondents makes their input valuable. The high proportion of parents with

no Gaelic background who nevertheless chose to put their child or children into a Gaelic-medium unit (see section 6.2.1) is especially indicative of the status of GME. The majority of parents, whether they spoke Gaelic or not, were pleased with their children's progress and were satisfied with the education system as a whole, despite providing specific suggestions for improvements. Teachers, as well, were critical but overwhelmingly supportive. Literacy development in fact appeared to be one the major causes of concern for teachers in terms of academic progress, which may give a more negative slant to the case-study results than applies to Gaelic-medium education as a whole.

The role of Gaelic-medium education as part of language revitalisation was discussed in Chapter Three. The limited size of the case study, in addition to the young age of the pupils and the restricted scope of investigation, mean that any conclusions as to the effectiveness of GME for revitalisation must be tentative. Approximately three-quarters of pupils in the case study were learners and therefore did not yet have the language ability or confidence to use the language outside of the classroom context; it would be difficult to anticipate these pupils' future use of Gaelic. Pupils also varied widely in terms of their language use within the classroom in ways that could not be predicted from their ability. Additionally, although a majority of parents reported their child as speaking Gaelic at home, the number of interlocutors was limited, and the amount and quality of the Gaelic used was not assessed. While nearly all pupils were progressing satisfactorily with literacy acquisition, which is an important component of language fluency, few were reading independently in Gaelic outside of school. The children's academic success cannot therefore be equated with the level of language use needed for Gaelic to be reinstated as a community language.

The results of the case study were more informative in understanding the development of bilingualism, especially as takes place through immersion education. The changing attitudes toward bilingualism are discussed in section 4.1.3, and were evident in the case study both by the popularity of Gaelic-

medium education and by parents' reasons for enrolling their children in GME, which included recovering a family language, benefiting from bilingualism, and gaining another cultural perspective. For most pupils, learning Gaelic at school results in successive, additive bilingualism; for some, it is a continuation of the development of simultaneous bilingualism. The pupils in the case study were for the most part too young to be experiencing many of the advantages of bilingualism (section 4.1.4), especially those associated with biliteracy, but had certainly made some substantial progress in developing both their languages. Such progress was most evident in P1, as some pupils entered with no active ability in Gaelic and were speaking confidently on a range of topics by early spring.

Literacy acquisition, as the focus of the case study, was analysed mainly through observing the resources and techniques used; other daily activities utilising literacy skills were also recorded (see the sample of fieldwork notes in Appendix B). As the main results of the case study are described in Chapters Five and Six, discussion here will emphasise how the observed data links to the theories and methods of literacy and teaching literacy found in Chapter Four. Overall effectiveness of the case-study teachers and the relative progress of their pupils will be included in this discussion. A conglomerate, idealised model of "best practice" will be given after specific topics in teaching literacy are addressed.

The availability of resources is one of the major areas of concern for the effectiveness of Gaelic-medium education (sections 4.3.4.1, 5.2, and 6.3.3). While case-study teachers did make good use of the resources in their classrooms, their teaching was constrained by the limitations of the materials. These limitations also affected pupils' extra-curricular reading development, as evidenced by the low numbers of books found in children's homes (see Table 10). The numbers suggested in section 4.3.4.1 as needed for satisfactory literacy acquisition (20-25 age-appropriate books per year outside of the school curriculum, five to eight books per child in the school library, and at least

2000 books total in the library) are far in excess of the 50 to 200 books found in Gaelic-medium composite classrooms. The quality of these books is also variable, both in terms of appearance and language use. In some cases, the books compare unfavourably to English resources, although most recent publications have been very well presented. Gaelic-medium teachers are usually unable to choose books based on features such as readability, theme, or structure: all books must be used regardless of their pedagogical value, and there are many levels of difficulty and subjects that are not represented at all.

Translation of resources is a further contentious issue, whether this translation is done by a professional before publication or by the teacher and then pasted-over the original text. Although case-study classrooms varied widely in the inclusion of paste-over books in the class library, from 0% to 70% (see Table 7), all the classrooms had a large proportion of translated books. Including the various schemes available such as *Storyworlds* and *Discovery Worlds*, this proportion was likely upwards of 50%, although the exact proportion is difficult to determine as many translations are not explicitly labelled as such and individual translators may not be acknowledged at all. The nature of *Storyworlds* as a translated reading scheme is of particular concern, as many of the main features of a reading scheme are language-specific, including controlled vocabulary (especially the use of rhymes), simple and short sentences, and introduction of sounds and letters in a particular order. Many of these features do not survive translation well if at all.

The range of teaching techniques observed drew from many of the models described in Chapter Four, implying that teachers receive an introduction to several methods during training and then select those that they feel are most effective in the classroom. Literacy acquisition is clearly as central to the primary curriculum in Gaelic-medium education as in English-medium education, although there is an initial focus on developing oral skills in the immersion classroom (see section 4.2.3.1). Although the Gaelic-medium pupil is not likely to encounter Gaelic print outside the classroom, and will

likely not be reliant on Gaelic literacy for a future occupation, literacy in Gaelic is still valued and still essential for academic success. In the early stages of literacy acquisition, functional literacy takes precedence over cultural and critical literacy, although these may be introduced. The predictors of success in literacy, such as having a positive attitude toward books, print and phonological awareness, knowing letter names, and reciting nursery rhymes, are as relevant for Gaelic as any other language; however, the nature of immersion education means that many pupils do not have all of these advantages in Gaelic specifically.

The variable language background of pupils entering Gaelic-medium education provides a further challenge for teachers choosing techniques for teaching reading. Children naturally have different predilections toward reading, and these differences are emphasised when language ability is considered. The lack of diagnostic tests in Gaelic for reading difficulties also concerns teachers, as early treatment is most successful. In P1 to P3, most pupils were too young to benefit from literate transfer between languages, although some of the older pupils had started reading English independently. The effects of reading on vocabulary acquisition were easier to observe; some pupils explicitly referred to books in which certain words were found, and language structures were sometimes lifted directly from texts. The teachers' efforts to define new vocabulary encountered whilst reading, particularly by referring to the illustrations, were important in this regard. Catering to individual children's abilities was one of the marks of an effective reading teacher.

One particular difference across case-study teachers was the use of a top-down or bottom-up approach to teaching reading (see sections 4.3.1 and 5.3.3.1). Top-down techniques involved discussing the plot of the story, using context to guess unknown words, and focusing on the meaning of the sentence; bottom-up techniques included letter identification, finding "little words" within larger words, and relying on pronunciation to determine

meaning. Phonics, sight words, and whole language were all commonly used as teaching methods. Reading aloud was a frequent activity in all classrooms, although the teachers themselves read in quite different proportions. Reading aloud by pupils provided those children with lack of confidence or ability in oral skills with the opportunity to demonstrate their Gaelic ability. Reading aloud also was one of the main methods for determining pupils' progress, due to the lack of assessment tools mentioned above.

The introduction of writing in the case-study classrooms was either concurrent with or closely followed the introduction of reading. Teachers utilised a variety of methods as discussed in section 5.3.5. There was little consistency across classrooms in terms of how, when, and in what order letters were introduced, but most P1 pupils were writing efficiently by the end of the year. Progress was fastest in those classrooms where multiple techniques were used to teach letter formation, and where connections between shapes and sounds were emphasised. As in teaching reading, repetition was essential. While spelling was not usually introduced explicitly until P3, teachers did address the concept of spelling as they taught beginning writing. The use of individual jotters contributed to the development of pupils' writing, especially the pride they took in their achievements.

The pupils' literacy development is also supported in the home, although the extent to which parents are able and willing to contribute is difficult to predict. Factors affecting reading, such as the number of books in the home, the frequency of parent-child reading, and parent modelling, were inconsistent even within Gaelic-medium units. The generally ambivalent nature of parental support in this area is surprising considering the voluntary nature of Gaelic-medium education and the positive opinions expressed by parents concerning Gaelic literacy. One major obstacle to parents' involvement is a lack of confidence in their own reading skills in Gaelic (if indeed the parents have any Gaelic reading ability); addressing this concern could

encourage pupils' literacy development by providing them with further input at home.

Although generalisations across the case-study classrooms are difficult to make due to factors such as the use of Gaelic in the surrounding community, the language background of pupils, the preferences of the teacher, and the resources available, some examples of "best practice" for teaching a variety of literacy skills will be given here to serve as a model for further development of Gaelic-medium primary education. The use of the reading scheme *Storyworlds* was universal; its use was most effective when the scheme was followed sequentially but not slavishly. Completion of every worksheet was optional, and supplemented by tapes, whole-class activities, and discussion of the books. Reading progress was greatest in classrooms where children had access to a wide range of books outside of the scheme. Whether these were translations did not seem to have an impact on children's enjoyment of them (in fact, some translations were among the most popular books as the children were already familiar with the English version), but children did prefer books which were not pasted-over. An attractive and appealing library corner with easy access to the books, as well as the time to explore this library corner, also contributed to the development of children's independent reading.

The use of audio-visual materials, particularly the phonics programme *Baile Mhuilinn*, was very popular with pupils, although caution must be exercised to ensure that the programmes shown are tied into lessons. Other activities linked to literacy that did not involve reading and writing directly, such as staging small dramas and giving oral presentations, were enjoyed as well. In terms of specific techniques for teaching literacy skills, teacher enthusiasm outweighed any inherent differences in technique. For teaching letters, repetition through a variety of different tasks ensured that pupils focused on the forms of letters. Although the order of introduction did not seem to have an effect, pupils were likely to be confused by letters with similar shapes and so those methods that emphasised differences between shapes

were more effective. Actively engaging the pupils in learning was also important while teaching words, especially for attention to detail. A combination of blending and segmenting was beneficial in allowing pupils to utilise their prior knowledge most efficiently. Key words were learnt most effectively when they were introduced and reinforced as part of texts, including the reading scheme books, rather than as separate items.

Reading groups were used well in most classrooms, although more classroom assistants would have made these groups more productive. Careful monitoring of pupils' progress and flexibility with the reading scheme allowed each pupil to move forward at his or her own pace. Most pupils handled reading aloud quite well, although there was a tendency in choral reading for pupils' attention to wander, resulting in a loss of articulation and understanding. Regular reading aloud by the teacher generally corresponded to clear and expressive reading by the pupils; these pupils also took a genuine interest in choosing books for the teacher to read. Greater exposure to reading in turn led to more confident and creative writing, even at the very early stages. However, an over-emphasis on perfect letter formation and spelling restricted some pupils' efforts. Pointing out letter blends and punctuation while doing whole-class work encouraged pupils to focus on these details in their own writing. Judicious praise for good work in both reading and writing, and the display of pupils' writing, were also characteristic of classrooms where pupils were progressing well in literacy.

Many of the features of classrooms and teachers where literacy learning was effective were idiosyncratic and could not be generalised to the education system as a whole: these included an alphabet line drawn by the teacher based on pupils' suggestions, the artist parent who helped pupils illustrate their own books, and the rhymes and songs made up by one teacher for nearly every situation. However, the successful classrooms had these characteristics in common:

- a range of attractively displayed resources of varying degrees of difficulty and dealing with a wide range of subjects;

- supplementary materials, such as videos, audiotapes, and computer programs;
- strategies for teaching letters and words that included visual, auditory, and kinaesthetic techniques;
- teachers who were enthusiastic about teaching reading and modelled good reading habits themselves; and
- sufficient support from parents to allow children to continue to develop literacy skills outside of the classroom.

These characteristics were in evidence in all the classrooms to varying degrees, but those classrooms with the strongest manifestations of the above features were also the classrooms in which pupils made the most progress in reading and exhibited the greatest tendency toward looking at or reading Gaelic books without explicit instruction to do so.

The limitations on the scope and scale of this case study mean that some factors in successful literacy acquisition may have been overlooked if these were not mentioned by teachers in questionnaires and interviews nor seen in the 52 sessions of classroom observation. Because the core of the case study involved only 10% of Gaelic-medium units (six out of 61) and 11% of the P1-3 pupils (104 out of 967), generalisations must necessarily be tentative. As each classroom was visited on only eight occasions (and one on only four), there were teacher behaviours that were not observed. Additionally, a longitudinal study of the development of pupils over the course of several years was not possible as part of a PhD thesis. Finally, although the focus of the case study was literacy acquisition, the pupils were not directly interviewed or tested. The results of the case study overall coincide with the conclusions of HMIE (2005): a major strength was the use of "successful strategies for ensuring early literacy and the acquisition and reinforcement of Gaelic language skills through immersion techniques," while in order to raise achievement levels, schools should "continue to improve pupils' writing and their ability to read and analyse prose and poetry."

Suggested further research in this area would address these concerns. Specifically, additional case studies that involved more schools and more

teachers, observed more intensively over a longer period of time, would increase generalisability. Intra-authority as well as inter-authority case studies would be valuable in terms of seeing how teachers implement policies. HMIE (2005) recommends that "managers monitor and evaluate classroom practice in order to identify and spread best practice." The development of Gaelic-specific tests for assessing children's literacy development, including tests for vocabulary, reading disabilities, and comprehension, would inform a case study as well as providing diagnostic tests that teachers could continue to use after the conclusion of the case study. Any qualitative, comparative research on literacy acquisition in Gaelic-medium education would provide additional valuable perspectives on both Gaelic language use and immersion methodology; furthermore, such research would contribute to further development of the Gaelic-medium education system.

Finally, one teacher new to the profession made a very perceptive comment. She called for "objective analysis, facing up to the existing problems." As Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: 210) point out in regard to many language revitalisation efforts, "'unfavourable' reports are often suppressed." It is certainly important to portray GME in the best light possible, and to have a positive outlook. However, teachers and others involved must be careful not to gloss over concerns and challenges. Addressing issues related to literacy will strengthen the system and lead to future improvements, thus ensuring Gaelic-medium education will be available for the children of those currently enrolled.

Works Referenced

Adams, Frank R. (1999). "5-14: Origins, Development, and Implementation," in Bryce & Humes (1999), 349-59.

Adams, Marilyn Jager (1990). *Beginning to Read: Thinking and Learning about Print.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Adams, Marilyn Jager (1994). "Modeling the Connections Between Word Recognition and Reading," in Ruddell, Ruddell, & Singer (1994), 838-63.

Adler, Patricia A. & Peter Adler (1994). "Observational Techniques," in Denzin & Lincoln (1994), 377-92.

Alladina, Safder (1989). "Multilingual Education in Britain: The State of the Art," in Sonino (1989), 127-32.

Anders, Patricia L., James V. Hoffman, & Gerald G. Duffy (2000). "Teaching Teachers to Teach Reading: Paradigm Shifts, Persistent Problems, and Challenges," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 719-42.

Appel, René & Pieter Muysken (1987). *Language Contact and Bilingualism.* London: Edward Arnold Ltd.

Arnberg, Lenore (1987). *Raising Children Bilingually: The Pre-school Years.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

August, Diane & Kenji Hakuta, eds (1997). *Improving Schools for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Babbie, Earl (1990). *Survey Research Methods.* 2nd edn. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Inc.

Baetens Beardsmore, H. (2003). "Who's Afraid of Bilingualism?" in Dewaele, Housen, & Wei (2003), 10-27.

Baker, Colin (1985). *Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin (1988). *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin (1997a). "Bilingual Education in Ireland, Scotland and Wales," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Volume 5: Bilingual Education,* eds Jim Cummins & David Corson, 127-41. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Baker, Colin (1997b). "Survey Methods in Researching Language and Education," in Hornberger & Corson (1997), 35-46.

Baker, Colin (2000a). *A Parents' and Teachers' Guide to Bilingualism.* 2nd edn. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin (2000b). *The Care and Education of Young Bilinguals: An Introduction for Professionals.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.* 3rd edn. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin (2003). "Biliteracy and Transliteracy in Wales: Language Planning and the Welsh National Curriculum," in Hornberger (2003c), 71-90.

Baker, Colin (2003). "Language Planning: A Grounded Approach" in Dewaele, Housen, & Wei (2003), 88-111.

Baker, Colin (2006). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.* 4th edn. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bannerman, Chrissie (1995). "Gaedhlig [sic]/Gaelic," in *The Lesser Used Languages and Teacher Education: Towards the promotion of the European Dimension,* eds Eilís Ní Dheá, Máire Ní Neachtain, & Antóin Ó Dubhghaill, 37-52. Limerick: Mary Immaculate College.

Barnard, Roger & Ted Glynn, eds (2003). *Bilingual Children's Language and Literacy Development.* Child Language and Child Development 4. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Barone, Diane M. (2003). "Caution, Apply with Care: Recommendations for Early Literacy Instruction," in Barone & Morrow (2003), 291-308.

Barone, Diane M. & Lesley Mandel Morrow, eds (2003). *Literacy and Young Children: Research-Based Practices.* London: The Guilford Press.

Beech, John R. (1985). *Learning to Read: A Cognitive Approach to Reading and Poor Reading.* London: Croom Helm.

Bell, Judith (1999). *Doing Your Research Project: A guide for first-time researchers in education and social science.* 3rd edn. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bernhardt, Elizabeth B. (1991). *Reading Development in a Second Language: Theoretical, Empirical, and Classroom Perspectives.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Beveridge, Michael & Gordon Reddiford, eds (1993). *Language, Culture, and Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bialystok, Ellen & Jim Cummins (1991). "Language, cognition, and education of bilingual children," in Bialystok (1991), 222-32.

Bialystok, Ellen (1991). *Language Processing in Bilingual Children.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bialystok, Ellen (2001). *Bilingualism in Development: Language, Literacy, and Cognition.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bialystok, Ellen (2002). "Acquisition of Literacy in Bilingual Children: A Framework for Research," *Language Learning*, 52, 159-99.

Bielby, Nicholas (1998). *How to Teach Reading: a balanced approach.* Primary Professional Bookshelf. Leamington Spa: Scholastic Ltd.

Blachman, Benita A. (2000). "Phonological Awareness," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 483-502.

Blachowicz, Camille L.Z. & Peter Fisher (2000). "Vocabulary Instruction," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 503-24.

Black, Ronald (1994). "Bog, Loch and River: The Nature of Reform in Scottish Gaelic," in *Language Reform: History and Future*, eds István Fodor & Claude Hagège, vol VI, 123-48. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Blanton, Linda (2002). "Seeing the invisible: Situating L2 literacy acquisition in child-teacher interaction," *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 11, 295-310.

Bloom, David & Laurie Katz (2003). "Methodologies in Research on Young Children and Literacy," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 381-99.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig (2006). *The draft National Plan for Gaelic.* Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig. available at http://www.bord-na-gaidhlig.org.uk/Cochomhairle/NPGE_smaller.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Brookes, Arthur & Richard Hudson (1982). "Do linguists have anything to say to teachers?" in Carter (1982), 52-74.

Brown, Tracy L. & Margot Haynes (1985). "Literacy Background and Reading Development in a Second Language," in *The Development of Reading Skills*, ed. Thomas H. Carr, 19-34. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Bryce, T.G.K & W.M. Humes, eds (1999). *Scottish Education.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Cairney, Trevor H. (2003). "Literacy within Family Life," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 85-98.

Campbell, John Lorne (1950). *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life: Past, Present, and Future.* 2nd edn. Edinburgh: Saltire Society.

Campbell, Robin (2002). *Reading in the Early Years Handbook.* 2nd edn. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Carter, Ronald, ed. (1982). *Linguistics and the Teacher.* Language, Education and Society, ed. Michael Stubbs. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Cartwright, Carol A. & G. Phillip Cartwright (1984). *Developing Observation Skills.* 2nd edn. London: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Casbergue, Renée M. & Mary Beth Plauché (2003). "Immersing Children in Nonfiction: Fostering Emergent Research and Writing," in Barone & Morrow (2003), 243-60.

Cates, G. Truett & Janet K. Swaffar (1979). *Reading a Second Language.* Language in Education: Theory and Practice 20. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Cenoz, Jasone & Fred Genesee (1998). "Psycholinguistic Perspectives on Multilingualism and Multilingual Education," in *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education,* eds Jasone Cenoz & Fred Genesee, 16-32. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (1988). *Language and Culture Guide 9: Gaelic (Scottish).* London: CILT.

Chall, Jeanne S. & Sue S. Conrad (1984). "Resources and Their Use for Reading Instruction," in *Becoming Readers in a Complex Society,* eds Alan C. Purves & Olive Niles, 209-32. Chicago, IL: National Society for the Study of Education.

Chall, Jeanne S. (1967). *Learning to Read: The Great Debate.* London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Chall, Jeanne S. (1984). "Readability and Prose Comprehension: Continuities and Discontinuities," in *Understanding Reading Comprehension: Cognition, Language, and the Structure of Prose,* ed. James Flood, 233-46. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Chall, Jeanne S. (1996). *Stages of Reading Development.* 2nd edn. London: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Chiappe, Penny, Linda S. Siegel, & Alexander Gottardo (2002). "Reading-related skills of kindergarteners from diverse language backgrounds," *Applied Psycholinguistics,* 23, 95-116.

Clay, Marie M. (1991). *Becoming Literate: The Construction of Inner Control.* Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann Education.

Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion & Keith Morrison (2000). *Research Methods in Education.* 5th edn. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Comann nam Pàrant (Nàiseanta) (1998). *Leantalachd ann am Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig.* Co-labhairt Nàiseanta Phàrant. Edinburgh: Comann nam Pàrant.

Comann nam Pàrant (Nàiseanta) (2002). *Gaelic-medium Secondary Education – A Model for the 21st Century.* National Conference. Glasgow: Comann nam Pàrant.

Comhairle na Gaidhealtachd/The Highland Council (1998). *Roi-Innleachd Leasachaidh Gàidhlig/Gaelic Development Strategy.* Inverness: Comhairle na Gaidhealtachd/The Highland Council.

Comhairle na Gaidhealtachd/The Highland Council (2002). *Foghlam Gàidhlig: An t-Slighe air Adhart/Gaelic Education and Early Years Strategy.* Inverness: Comhairle

na Gaidhealtachd/The Highland Council. available at http://www.highland.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/B0793761-7874-499B-8540-70227DBEFE22/0/gaelicstrategylongbilingual.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (2004). *Poileasaidh Gàidhlig.* Stornoway: Comhairle nan Eilean Siar. available at http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/corporate/sgioba/gaidhligpolicycnes.htm [accessed September 2006].

Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (1990). *Immersion Language Learning.* Inverness: Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1992). *Feumalachdan Luchd-Ionnsachaidh - Rannsachadh Nàiseanta/Provision for Gaelic Learners - A National Survey.* Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1995). *Thig a Theagasg.* Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1997). *Innleachd Airson Adhartais: Poileasaidh Nàiseanta airson Foghlaim Gàidhlig.* Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Constantino, Rebecca, ed. (1998). *Literacy, Access, and Libraries among the Language Minority Population.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Cooper, Robert L. (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corden, Roy (2000). *Literacy and Learning through Talk: strategies for the primary classroom.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Cormack, Mike (1995). "The Use of Gaelic in Scottish Newspapers," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 16, 269-80.

Creswell, John W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches.* London: SAGE Publications.

Crystal, David (2000). *Language Death.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cummins, James (1979). "Linguistic Interdependence and the Educational Development of Bilingual Children," *Review of Education Research,* 49(2), 222-51.

Cummins, Jim (1981). *Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Cummins, Jim (1991). "Interdependence of first- and second-language proficiency in bilingual children," in Bialystok (1991), 70-89.

Cummins, Jim (2000). *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Cummins, Jim (2003). "Bilingual Education: Basic Principles" in Dewaele, Housen, & Wei (2003), 56-66.

Datta, Manjula, ed. (2000). *Bilinguality and Literacy: Principles and Practice.* London: Continuum.

David, Tricia *et al.* (2000). *Making Sense of Early Literacy: a practitioner's perspective.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books Limited.

Davies, Alan (1991). *The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Day, Richard R. & Julian Bamford (1998). *Extensive Reading in the Second Language Classroom.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Denzin, Norma K. & Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* London: SAGE Publications.

Devine, Joanne (1980). "Developmental Patterns in Native and Non-Native Reading Acquisition," in Hudelson (1980), 103-14.

Dewaele, Jean-Marc, Alex Housen & Li Wei, eds (2003). *Bilingualism: Beyond Basic Principles.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Donaldson, Morag L., William Gillies, Jennifer Reid, & Christine Macleod (1998). *Children's acquisition of Scottish Gaelic grammar: a preliminary investigation.* ESRC project grant R000221466.

Donmoyer, Robert (2000). "Generalizability and the Single-Case Study," in Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster (2000a), 45-68.

Downing, John & Derek Thackeray (1971). *Reading Readiness.* London: University of London Press Ltd.

Downing, John, ed. (1973a). *Comparative Reading: Cross-National Studies of Behavior and Processes in Reading and Writing.* New York, NY: The Macmillan Company.

Downing, John (1973b). "Cultural Expectations," in Downing (1973a), 105-27.

Downing, John (1973c). "Linguistic Environments, I," in Downing (1973a), 181-216.

Downing, John (1973d). "Linguistic Environments, II," in Downing (1973a), 217-43.

Downing, John (1973e). "The Rationale and Scope of Comparative Reading," in Downing (1973a), 3-12.

Downing, John (1973f). "The Teacher Variable," in Downing (1973a), 128-68.

Dunbar, Robert (2001). "Minority Language Rights Regimes: An Analytical Framework, Scotland, and Emerging European Norms," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2001), 231-54.

Duwe, Kurt (2004). *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies.* Vol. 20: Muile, Tiriodh & Colla (Mull, Tiree & Coll). Germany: Hydromod Scientific Consulting. available at http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_20_July_2004-a.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Duwe, Kurt (2005). *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies.* Vol. 03: Uibhist a Deas agus Beinn a' Bhaoghla (South Uist & Benbecula). 2nd edn. Germany: Hydromod Scientific Consulting. http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_03_Uibhist_a_Deas_Ed_II.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Duwe, Kurt (2006a). *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies.* Vol. 12: An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Port Rìgh, an Srath & Slèite (Isle of Skye, Portree, Strath & Sleat). 2nd edn. Germany: Hydromod Scientific Consulting. available at http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_12_Port_Righ_Sleite_Ed_II.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Duwe, Kurt (2006b). *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies.* Vol. 15: Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnobhagh (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway). 2nd edn. Germany: Hydromod Scientific Consulting. available at http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_15_Steornabhagh_Ed_II.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Edwards, A.D. & D.P.G. Westgate (1994). *Investigating Classroom Talk.* 2nd edn. London: The Falmer Press.

Edwards, John, ed. (1984a). *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism.* London: Academic Press.

Edwards, John (1984b). "Language, Diversity and Identity," in J. Edwards (1984a), 277-310.

Edwards, John (1994). *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.

Edwards, John (2003). "The Importance of Being Bilingual," in Dewaele, Housen, & Wei (2003), 28-42.

Edwards, Viv (1983). *Language in Multicultural Classrooms.* London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.

Edwards, Viv (1984). "Language Policy in Multicultural Britain," in J. Edwards (1984a), 49-80.

Edwards, Viv (1997). "Reading in Multilingual Classrooms," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 47-56.

Edwards, Viv & David Corson, eds (1997). *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Volume 2: Literacy.* Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Edwards, Viv (2003). *Multilingualism in the English-Speaking World: Pedigree of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Ekos Limited (2001). *A Review of the Gaelic Publishing Sector.* Inverness: Ekos.

European Commission (2004). *Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity: An action plan 2004-06.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Faltis, Christian (1997). "Case Study Methods in Researching Language and Education," in Hornberger & Corson (1997), 145-52.

Ferguson, Gibson R. (1988). "Language Planning in Education: An Analysis of Theory and Practice". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Ferreiro, Emilia & Ana Teberosky (1979). *trans.* Karen Goodman Castro 1982. *Literacy Before Schooling.* London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Fisher, Ros, Greg Brooks, & Maureen Lewis, eds (2002). *Raising Standards in Literacy.* Language and Literacy in Action. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. (1974a). *Advances in Language Planning.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language 5. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1974b). "Language Modernization and Planning in Comparison with Other Types of National Modernization and Planning," in Fishman (1974a), 79-102.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1974c). "Language Planning and Language Planning Research: The State of the Art," in Fishman (1974a), 15-33.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1993). "Reversing language shift: Successes, failures, doubts and dilemmas," in *Language Conflict and Language Planning,* Trends in Linguistics – Studies and Monographs 72, ed. Ernst Håkon Jahr, 69-81. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. (2001). *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Florio-Ruane, Susan & Mary McVee (2000). "Ethnographic Approaches in Literacy Research," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 153-62.

Fox, Carol (2003). "Playing the Storyteller: Some Principles for Learning Literacy in the Early Years of Schooling," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 189-98.

Fraser, Anne (1989). "Gaelic in primary education: a study of the development of Gaelic bilingual education in urban contexts". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

A Gaelic Educationalist (1948). "The Present Position of Gaelic". *Alba,* 1, 10-13.

An Gàidheal Ùr (March 2006). "Ministear ùr Gàidhlig an Alba Nuadh", p.1.

Galda, Lee, Gwynne Ellen Ash, & Bernice E. Cullinan (2000). "Children's Literature," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 361-80.

García, Georgia Earnest (2000). "Bilingual Children's Reading," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 813-35.

Garton, Alison & Chris Pratt (1998). *Learning to be Literate: The Development of Spoken and Written Language.* 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Garvin, Paul L. (1974). "Some Comments on Language Planning," in Fishman (1974a), 70-78.

Geekie, Peter, Brian Cambourne & Phil Fitzsimmons (1999). *Understanding Literacy Development.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books Limited.

General Teaching Council for Scotland (2000). *Teagasg ann am foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig: Molaidhean Leasachaidh/Teaching in Gaelic-medium education: Recommendations for change.* Edinburgh: General Teaching Council for Scotland.

General Register Office for Scotland (2005). *Scotland's Census 2001 – Gaelic Report.* Edinburgh: General Register Office for Scotland. available at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/census/censushm/scotcen/scotcen2/scotcen-gaelic/index.html [accessed September 2006].

Genesee, Fred (2003). "Rethinking Bilingual Acquisition," in Dewaele, Housen, & Wei (2003), 204-28.

Gillen, Julia & Nigel Hall, (2003). "The Emergence of Early Childhood Literacy," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 3-12.

Gillies, Anna Lorne (1989). "Gaelic: The Way Ahead," in *Modern Languages in Scotland: The Way Ahead,* eds Alistair Duncan & Richard Johnstone, 35-43. Stirling: University of Stirling and CILT.

Gillies, Anna Lorne (1995). "Gaelic in Scotland: Coming Full Circle," *Language Issues: The Journal of NATECLA,* 7(2), 4-5.

Gillies, William (1987). "Scottish Gaelic – The Present Situation," in Mac Eoin (1987), 27-46.

Glynn, Ted & Mere Berryman (2003). "A Community Elder's Role in Improving Reading and Writing for Maori Students," in Barnard & Glynn (2003), 36-58.

Godwin, Diane & Margaret Perkins (2002). *Teaching Language and Literacy in the Early Years.* 2nd edn. London: David Fulton Publishers.

Gomm, Roger, Martyn Hammersley, & Peter Foster, eds (2000a). *Case Study Method.* London: SAGE Publications.

Gomm, Roger, Martyn Hammersley, & Peter Foster (2000b). "Case Study and Generalization," in Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster (2000a), 98-115.

Goodman, Kenneth, Yetta Goodman, & Barbara Flores (1979). *Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Literacy and Biliteracy.* Arlington, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Goodman, Kenneth S. (1997). "The Reading Process," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 1-7.

Graham, Ross (1986). "Processing Operations in First and Second Language Reading: A Cognitive Framework". Unpublished MLitt thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Grant, Nigel (1996). "Gaelic and Education in Scotland – Developments and Perspectives," *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* 17, 150-58.

Gray, William S. (1969). *The Teaching of Reading and Writing.* 2nd edn. Paris: UNESCO.

Gregory, Eve (1996). *Making Sense of a New World: Learning to read in a second language.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Gutiérrez-Clellen, Vera F. & Jacqueline Kreiter (2003). "Understanding child bilingual acquisition using parent and teacher reports," *Applied Psycholinguistics,* 24, 267-88.

Haddad, Frances Trix (1980). "First Language Illiteracy – Second Language Reading: A Case Study," in Hudelson (1980), 32-44.

Hall, Kathy (2003). "Effective Literacy Teaching in the Early Years of School: A Review of Evidence," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 315-26.

Hall, Nigel (1994). "The Emergence of Literacy," in Stierer & Maybin (1994), 15-29.

Hall, Nigel, Joanne Larson, & Jackie Marsh, eds (2003). *Handbook of Early Childhood Literacy.* London: SAGE Publications.

Hamers, Josiane F. & Michel H.A. Blanc (1989). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harding, Edith & Philip Riley (1986). *The Bilingual Family: A Handbook for Parents.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Harklau, Linda (2002). "The role of writing in classroom second language acquisition," *Journal of Second Language Writing,* 11, 329-50.

Harrison, Colin (2000). "Reading Research in the United Kingdom," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 17-28.

Haugen, Einar (1987). *Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning – Problems and Pleasures.* Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haugen, Einar, J.D. McClure, & Derick S. Thomson, eds (1990). *Minority Languages Today.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Henry, Alison, Áine Andrews, & Pól Ó Cainín (2002). *Developing Linguistic Accuracy in Irish-Medium Primary Schools.* Bangor, Northern Ireland: Department of Education.

Heywood, John, ed. (2000). *Involving Parents in Early Literacy.* Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council (Education).

Hickey, Tina (1991). "Leisure Reading in a Second Language: An Experiment with Audio Tapes," *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* 4, 119-31.

Hickey, Tina (1992). "The acquisition of Irish as first language: what do we know?" in *Insealbhú na Gaeilge mar Chéad Teanga / Acquisition of Irish as a First Language,* ed. Dónall P. Ó Baoill, 1-25. Dublin: Irish Association for Applied Linguistics.

Hickey, Tina (2001). "Mixing Beginners and Native Speakers in Minority Language Immersion: Who Is Immersing Whom?" *Canadian Modern Language Review,* 57 (3). available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/cmlr/573/573-Hickey.html [accessed September 2006].

Hicks, Davyth (2003). *Breton: The Breton language in education in France.* 2nd edn. Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

HM Inspectors of Schools (1998). *Improving Reading at the Early Stages of 5-14.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Office Education and Industry Department.

HMIE (2000). Inspection Report for Daliburgh School, South Uist. available at http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/Daliburgh%20School%2022-1-00.pdf [accessed September 2006].

HMIE (2000). Inspection Report for Sleat Primary School, Isle of Skye. available at http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/sleat_ps01.html [accessed September 2006].

HMIE (2001). Inspection Report for Salen Primary School, Isle of Mull. available at http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/salen_ps01.html [accessed September 2006].

HMIE (2004). Inspection Report for Central Primary School, Inverness. available at http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/CentralPrimarySchool(En.html [accessed September 2006].

HMIE (2004). Inspection Report for Stornoway Primary School, Isle of Lewis. available at http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/inspection/6231829Stornoway%20PS.html [accessed September 2006].

HMIE (2005). *HMIE Improving Series: Improving Achievement in Gaelic.* Livingston, Scotland: HMIE.

Homel, Peter, Michael Palij, & Doris Aaronson, eds (1987). *Childhood Bilingualism: Aspects of Linguistic, Cognitive and Social Development.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Honig, Bill (2001). *Teaching Our Children to Read: The Components of an Effective, Comprehensive Reading Program.* 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.

Hornberger, Nancy (2000). "Multilingual literacies, literacy practices, and the continua of biliteracy," in Martin-Jones & Jones (2000a), 353-68.

Hornberger, Nancy H. (2003a). "Continua of Biliteracy," in Hornberger (2003c), 3-34.

Hornberger, Nancy H. (2003b). "Multilingual Language Policies and the Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Approach," in Hornberger (2003c), 315-39.

Hornberger, Nancy H., ed. (2003c). *Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Framework for Educational Policy, Research, and Practice in Multilingual Settings,* Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 41. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Hornberger, Nancy H. & Ellen Skilton-Sylvester (2003). "Revisiting the Continua of Biliteracy: International and Critical Perspectives," in Hornberger (2003c), 35-67.

Hornberger, Nancy H. & David Corson, eds (1997). *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Volume 8: Research Methods in Language and Education.* Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Hudelson, Sarah, ed. (1980). *Learning to Read in Different Languages.* Papers in Applied Linguistics: Linguistics and Literacy Series, ed. Roger W. Shuy. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

James, Clive (c.1984). *What Future for Scottish Gaelic Speaking Communities?* Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics no. 14. Stoke-on-Trent: North Staffordshire Polytechnic.

Jenkinson, Marion D. (1973). "Ways of teaching," in Staiger (1973a), 39-59.

Johnstone, Richard (1994). *The Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic Language: Review of Research.* Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Johnstone, Richard (1994). *Teaching Modern Languages at Primary School: Approaches and Implications.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Council for Research in Education.

Johnstone, Richard *et al.* (1999). *The Attainments of Pupils Receiving Gaelic-medium Primary Education in Scotland.* Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Johnstone, Richard (2003). *Gaelic Learners in the Primary School.* Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Jones, Meirion (2001). *Welsh: The Welsh language in education in the UK.* Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

Joseph, John Earl (1987). *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages.* New York: Basil Blackwell.

Kamil, Michael L., Peter B. Mosenthal, P. David Pearson, & Rebecca Barr, eds (2000). *Handbook of Reading Research Volume III.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kaplan, Robert B. & Richard B. Baldauf, Jr. (1997). *Language Planning from practice to theory.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Kelly, Clare, Eve Gregory & Ann Williams (2002). "Developing literacy: towards a new understanding of family involvement," in Fisher, Brooks, & Lewis (2002), 66-81.

Kelly, Michael *et al.* (2002). *The Training of Teachers of a Foreign Language: Developments in Europe.* A Report to the European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture.

Kenner, Charmian (2000). *Home Pages: Literacy Links for Bilingual Children.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books Limited.

Kenner, Charmian & Eve Gregory (2003). "Becoming Biliterate," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 178-88.

Kirk, John M. & Dónall P. Ó Baoill, eds (2001). *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland.* Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

Kirk, John M. & Dónall P. Ó Baoill, eds (2002). *Language Planning and Education: Linguistic Issues in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland.* Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 6. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

Knobel, Michele & Colin Lankshear (2003). "Researching Young Children's Out-of-School Literacy Practices," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 51-65.

Lamb, William (2001). *Scottish Gaelic.* Munich: Lincom Europa.

Lamb, William (2002). "Speech and Writing in Scottish Gaelic: A Study of Register Variation in an Endangered Language". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Le Voi, Martin (2002). "Responsibilities, Rights and Ethics," in *Doing Postgraduate Research,* ed. Stephen Potter, 153-63. London: SAGE Publications.

Leseman, Paul & Peter de Jong (1998). "Home literacy: Opportunity, instruction, cooperation, and social-emotional quality predicting reading achievement," *Reading Research Quarterly,* 33, 294-318.

Leslie, Moira (2000). *Developing Literacy: the Pre-school Years.* Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Council.

Lewis, E. Glyn (1980). *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: a Comparative Study.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Liddicoat, Anthony J. (2004). "Language Planning for Literacy: Issues and Implications," *Current Issues in Language Planning,* 5 (1), 1-17.

Lindholm-Leary, Kathryn J. (2001). *Dual Language Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Lloyd, Sue (1992). *The Phonics Handbook: A Handbook for Teaching Reading, Writing and Spelling.* 2nd edn. Chigwell: Jolly Learning Ltd.

Lo Bianco, Joseph (2000). "Multiliteracies and multilingualism," in *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures,* eds Bill Cope & Mary Kalantzis, 92-105. London: Routledge.

Lo Bianco, Joseph (2001). *Language and Literacy Policy in Scotland.* Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Luke, Allan (2004). "On the Material Consequences of Literacy," *Language and Education,* 18 (4), 331-5.

Mac Eoin, Gearóid, *et al.*, eds (1987). *Third International Conference on Minority Languages: Celtic Papers.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

MacCaluim, Alasdair with Wilson McLeod (2001). *Revitalising Gaelic? A Critical Analysis of the Report of the Taskforce on Public Funding of Gaelic.* Edinburgh: Department of Celtic & Scottish Studies.

MacDonald, Lorraine (2002). "Gaelic Literacy: Perceptions and Practices". Unpublished MSc dissertation, The Open University.

MacIver, Margaret (2002). "Structures for Gaelic-medium Education," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2002), 56-60.

Mackey, William F. (1984). "Bilingual Education and its Social Implications," in J. Edwards (1984a), 151-78.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1972). "Education and social control: The case of Gaelic Scotland," *Scottish Educational Studies,* 4, 125-37.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1977). *Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community.* London: Routledge.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1986). "The Scottish-Gaelic Speech Community: Some Social Perspectives," *Scottish Language,* 5, 65-84.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1986-7). *The Present Position of Gaelic in Scottish Primary Education.* Social Sciences Reports Series No. SSR 16. Hatfield: Hatfield Polytechnic School of Business and Social Sciences.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1987). "Gender, Occupational and Educational Factors in Gaelic Language-Shift and Regeneration," in Mac Eoin (1987), 47-71.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1990). "Language-maintenance and viability in the contemporary Scottish Gaelic speech-community: some social and demographic

factors," in *Fourth International Conference on Minority Languages*, vol. II. eds Durk Gorter *et al.*, 69-90. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991a). *Gaelic: A Past and Future Prospect.* Edinburgh: Saltire Society.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991b). "Language-Retreat and Regeneration in the Present Day Scottish Gàidhealtachd," in *Linguistic Minorities, Society, and Territory*, ed. Colin Williams, 121-49. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1992). *An Aghaidh nan Creag: Despite Adversity – Gaeldom's Twentieth Century Survival and Potential.* SGRÙD to *Comunn na Gàidhlig.*

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1996a). "Social Class and Gaelic Language Abilities in the 1981 Census," *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 17, 150-58.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1996b). "The Dynamics of Scottish Gaelic," in *Watching One's Tongue: Aspects of Romance and Celtic Languages*, ed. Máiréad Nic Craith, 177-200. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (2001). "*Fàs no Bàs (Prosper or Perish):* Prospects of Survival for Scottish Gaelic," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2001), 255-58.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (2004a). "Gaelic in the 2001 Census: A few green shoots amidst the gloom," in *Doonsin' Emerauds: New Scrieves anent Scots an Gaelic/New Studies in Scots and Gaelic*, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 11, ed. J. Derrick McClure, 24-35. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (2004b). "Language Planning: an outline overview and structured bibliography." SGRÙD Research.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (2006). SGRÙD Research. www.sgrud.org.uk [accessed September 2006].

MacLeòid, Dòmhnall Iain (1986). *Would You Like Your Child to Speak Gaelic?/A' Chlann agus a' Ghàidhlig.* Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

MacLeod, D.J. (2003). "An Historical Overview," in Nicolson & MacIver (2003a), 1-14.

Macnamara, John (1966). *Bilingualism and Primary Education: a study of Irish Experience.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MacNeil, M. M. & M. N. Beaton (1994). *Immersion Teaching and Language Learning: Meeting the Needs of the Gaelic Economy.* Sleat, Isle of Skye: Lèirsinn (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig).

MacNeil, Morag M. (1994). "Immersion Programmes Employed in Gaelic-Medium Units in Scotland," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 15, 245-52.

MacNeil, Morag M. (2000). "Immersion programmes employed in Gaelic-medium units in Scotland," in *Developing Minority Languages: Proceedings of the Fifth*

International Conference on Minority Languages, eds Peter Wynn Thomas & Jayne Mathias, 284-91. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

MacNeil, Morag & Bob Stradling (2001). "Strategies for sustaining the Gaelic communities in Scotland: an exploration of community-based and educational services on issues of language and culture," in *Sustaining and supporting the lesser used languages*, ed. Sigrid Skålnes, 12-52. Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research.

Makin, Laurie (2003). "Creating Positive Literacy Learning Environments in Early Childhood," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 327-37.

Mallett, Margaret (2003). *Early Years Non-Fiction: A guide to helping young researchers use information texts.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Martin-Jones, Marilyn (1997). "Bilingual Classroom Discourse: Changing Research Approaches and Diversification of Research Sites," in Hornberger & Corson (1997), 249-58.

Martin-Jones, Marilyn & Kathryn Jones, eds (2000a). *Multilingual Literacies: Reading and Writing Different Worlds.* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Martin-Jones, Marilyn & Kathryn Jones (2000b). "Multilingual literacies," in Martin-Jones & Jones (2000a), 1-16.

Mayor, Barbara M. (1994). "What Does It Mean To Be Bilingual?" in Stierer & Maybin (1994), 74-91.

McCarty, Teresa L. (1997). "Teacher Research Methods in Language and Education," in Hornberger & Corson (1997), 227-37.

McCullough, Constance & Chinna Chacko (1973). "Developing materials for instruction," in Staiger (1973a), 167-88.

McGuinness, Diane (2004). *Early Reading Instruction: What Science Really Tells Us about How to Teach Reading.* London: MIT Press.

McLeod, Wilson (2001). "A' Ghàidhlig anns an 21mh Linn: Sùil air Adhart," *Leachtaí Cholm Cille*, 31, 90-109.

McLeod, Wilson (2002a). "Alba: Luchd an Aona-Chànanais agus Buaidh na Cairt Eòrpaich," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2002), 284-89.

McLeod, Wilson (2002b). "Language Planning as Regional Development? The Growth of the Gaelic Economy," *Scottish Affairs*, 38, 51-72.

McLeod, Wilson (2003a). "Gaelic Medium Education in the International Context," in Nicolson & MacIver (2003a), 15-34.

McLeod, Wilson (2003b). "Gaelic-medium Education in Scotland," in *Gaelic-Medium Education Provision: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle*

of Man, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 8, eds Maolcholaim Scott & Róise Ní Bhaoill, 118-30. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

McLeod, Wilson (2004). "The challenge of corpus planning in Gaelic development," *Scottish Language*, 23, 68-92.

Merchant, Guy (1999). "Early Reading Development," in *Desirable Literacies: Approaches to language and literacy in the early years*, eds Jackie Marsh & Elaine Hallet, 68-84. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Mills, Jean (1994). "Finding a voice: bilingual classroom assistants and their role in primary schools," in *Teaching Bilingual Children*, ed. Adrian Blackledge, 131-42. Staffordshire: Trentham Books Limited.

Mills, Richard W. (1988). *Observing Children in the Primary Classroom: All in a Day*. 2nd edn. London: Unwin Hyman.

Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (2002). *Cothrom Ùr don Ghàidhlig/A Fresh Start for Gaelic*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Mitchell, Rosamond (1987). "Assessing the Language Skills of Bilingual Primary Pupils," *Scottish Council for Research in Education Spotlights*, 6.

Mitchell, Rosamond *et al.* (1987). *Report of an Independent Evaluation of the Western Isles' Bilingual Education Project*. Stirling: University of Stirling.

Moffatt, John (1999). "'*Inneal-Ciuil an Diabhail*/ The Devil's Instrument': Popular Culture and the Gaelic Learner," *Journal of Celtic Language Learning*, 4, 5-15.

Morgan, Pamela S. (1996). "The Status of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland," *Journal of Celtic Language Learning*, 2, 33-53.

Morrow, Lesley Mandel & Linda B. Gambrell (2000). "Literature-Based Reading Instruction," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 563-86.

Morrow, Lesley Mandel, Heather Casey, & Courtney Haworth (2003). "Staff Development for Early Literacy Teachers: A Plan to Facilitate Change," in Barone & Morrow (2003), 3-22.

Morse, Janice M. (1994). "Designing Funded Qualitative Research," in Denzin & Lincoln (1994), 220-35.

Mulholland, Gwen (1984). *The Struggle for a Language: Gaelic in Education*. Edinburgh: Rank and File.

Müller, Martina (2005). "Bilingualism and writing among Gaelic-medium pupils at secondary level in the Isle of Skye (Scotland)," in *Integration of European Language Research*, Studies in Eurolinguistics vol. 2, ed. P. Sture Ureland, 365-402. Berlin: Logos.

Munro, Cameron (1999). "The Parental Dimension in Scottish Education," in Bryce & Humes (1999), 201-12.

Murray, John & Catherine Morrison (1984). *Bilingual Primary Education in the Western Isles, Scotland: Report of the Bilingual Education Project 1975-81.* Stornoway: Acair.

Murtagh, Lelia (1988). "A Review of Research on Second Language Learning," *Teangeolas*, 24, 13-19.

Myers-Scotton, Carol (2006). *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

National Literacy Trust (2006). www.literacytrust.org.uk [accessed September 2006].

Nettle, Daniel & Suzanne Romaine (2000). *Vanishing Voices: the extinction of the world's languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ní Bhaoill, Róise (2004). *Irish: The Irish language in education in Northern Ireland.* 2nd edn. Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

Ní Chianáin, Áine (2001). "An Dátheangachas agus an Córas Gaelscolaíochta i dTuaisceart na hEireann," *Taighde agus Teagasc* 1, ed. Gearóid Stockman, 1, 153-71.

Ní Dheirg, Íosold (1987). "Litearthacht sa Dara Teanga," *Teangeolas*, 22, 12-14.

Ní Mhaináin, Róisín, ed. (2003). *Idir Lúibíní: Aistí ar an Léitheoireacht agus ar an Litearthacht.* Dublin: Cois Life.

Ní Neachtain, Sinéad (1986-8). "Guth an Fhoghlaimeora: Ábhar Léoitheoireachta agus Scríbhneoireachta sa Bhunscoil," *Teagasc na Gaeilge*, 5, 56-67.

Nicolson, Margaret & Matthew MacIver, eds (2003a). *Gaelic Medium Education.* Policy and Practice in Education 10. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.

Nicolson, Margaret & Matthew MacIver (2003b). "Contexts and Futures," in Nicolson & MacIver (2003a), 63-73.

Nig Uidhir, Gabrielle (2003). "Próifíliú sa Luathlitearthacht: Áis Mheasúnaithe do Mhúinteorí i mBunscoileanna Lán-Ghaeilge," in Ní Mhaináin (2003), 131-54.

Nisbet, Jean (2003). "A Local Authority Perspective," in Nicolson & MacIver (2003a), 47-62.

Nisbet, John (1963). "Bilingualism and the School," *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 10, 44-52.

Niven, Liz (2002). *Scots: The Scots Language in education in Scotland.* Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

Nutbrown, Cathy (1997). *Recognising Early Literacy Development: Assessing Children's Achievements.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Ó Baoill, Dónall P. (1992). "Developmental Stages in the Acquisition of Irish Phonology and Initial Mutations," in *Insealbhú na Gaeilge mar Chéad Teanga / Acquisition of*

Irish as a First Language, ed. Dónall P. Ó Baoill, 54-73. Dublin: Irish Association for Applied Linguistics.

Ó Baoill, Dónall P. (2003). "An Léitheoireacht agus an Gaeltacht," in Ní Mhaináin (2003), 57-69.

O'Hanlon, Fiona Malcolm (2005). "Gaelic in Upper Primary Schools in Scotland: policy and practice". Unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Oller, D. Kimbrough & Barbara Zurer Pearson (2002). "Assessing the Effects of Bilingualism: A Background," in *Language and Literacy in Bilingual Children*, Child Language and Child Development 2, eds D. Kimbrough Oller & Rebecca E. Eilers, 3-21. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Ó Murchú, Helen (1999). *Irish: Facing the Future.* European Languages 8. Dublin: European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.

Ó Murchú, Helen (2001). *Irish: The Irish language in education in the Republic of Ireland.* Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

Ó Murchú, Máirtín (1997). "Successes and Failures in the Modernization of Irish Spelling," in *Advances in the Creation and Revision of Writing Systems*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman. The Hague: Mouton. 267-89.

Ong, Walter J. (1982). *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* London: Routledge.

Ó Raghallaigh, Colmán (2003). "Léitheoireacht na Gaeilge a Neartú: Dúshlán na bhFoilstheoirí," in Ní Mhaináin (2003), 71-81.

Ó Riagáin, Pádraig (1985). *Public and teacher attitudes towards Irish in the schools: A review of recent surveys.* Dublin: The Linguistics Institute of Ireland.

Ó Ruairc, Maolmhaodhóg (1999). *I dTreo Teanga Nua.* Dublin: Cois Life Teoranta.

Owens, Máire (1992). *The Acquisition of Irish.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Paterson, Lindsay (2003). *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Peddie, Roger (2003). "Languages in New Zealand: Population, Politics and Policy," in Barnard & Glynn (2003), 8-35.

Pellegrini, Anthony D. (1996). "The Importance of a Developmental Perspective in Early Literacy Research," in Reeder *et al.* (1996a), 1-12.

Perera, Katherine (1982). "The assessment of linguistic difficulty in reading material," in Carter (1982), 101-13.

Perrett, Gillian (2000). "Researching second and foreign language development," in *Researching Language in Schools and Communities: Functional Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. Len Unsworth, 87-110. London: Cassell.

Pinnell, Gay Su, Carol A. Lyons, Diane E. DeFord, Anthony S. Bryk & Michael Seltzer (1994). "Comparing instructional models for the literacy education of high-risk first graders," *Reading Research Quarterly*, 29 (1), 8-39.

Prattis, J.I. (1990). "Industrialisation and Minority-Language Loyalty: The Example of Lewis," in Haugen, McClure, & Thomson (1990), 21-31.

Punch, Maurice (1994). "Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research," in Denzin & Lincoln (1994), 83-97.

Purcell-Gates, Victoria (2000). "Family Literacy," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 853-70.

Raban, Bridie (1997). "Reading Skills: Emergent Literacy," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 19-26.

Rannóg an Aistriúcháin (1958). *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: An Caighdeán Oifigiúil.* Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair.

Raybould, William H. (1995). "The Welsh Perspective on Working with Bilingual Children in the Primary School," in Verma, Corrigan, & Firth (1995), 62-93.

Reeder, Kenneth, *et al.*, eds (1996a). *Literate Apprenticeships: The Emergence of Language and Literacy in the Preschool Years.* Advances in Discourse Processes 56. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Reeder, Kenneth *et al.* (1996b). "From Communication to Literacy," in Reeder *et al.* (1996a), 13-28.

Riley, Jeni (1996). *The Teaching of Reading: The Development of Literacy in the Early Years of School.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Robasdan, Boyd (2006). "Foghlam Gàidhlig: bho linn gu linn," in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland: Policy, Planning and Public Discourse*, ed. Wilson McLeod, 87-118. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.

Roberts, Alasdair (1991). "Parental Attitudes to Gaelic-Medium Education in the Western Isles of Scotland," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 12, 253-69.

Roberts, Geoffrey R. (1969). *Reading in Primary Schools.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Roberts, Geoffrey R. (1989). *Teaching Children to Read and Write.* Oxford: Blackwell Basil Ltd.

Robertson, Boyd (1989). "Gaelic Education Today," *Scottish Language*, 8, 42-56.

Robertson, Boyd (1995). "Provision for Gaelic in Scottish Education," in *Home Language and School in a European Perspective*, eds Tom Vallen *et al.*, 67-82. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.

Robertson, Boyd (1999). "Gaelic Education," in Bryce & Humes (1999), 244-55.

Robertson, Boyd (2001a). "Gaelic in Scotland," in *The Other Languages of Europe*, eds Guus Extra & Durk Gorter, 83-101. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Robertson, Boyd (2001b). *The Gaelic language in education in the UK*. Leeuwarden: Mercator-Education.

Robertson, A. G. Boyd (2002). "Teacher Training in Gaelic in Scotland," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2002), 76-81.

Robertson, A.G. Boyd, *et al.* (2004). *Pupil numbers in Gaelic-medium education 2003-04*. Scotland: University of Strathclyde.

Robertson, A.G. Boyd, *et al.* (2005). *Pupil numbers in Gaelic-medium education 2004-05*. Scotland: University of Strathclyde.

Robertson, A.G. Boyd, *et al.* (2006). *Pupil numbers in Gaelic-medium education 2005-06*. Scotland: University of Strathclyde.

Robson, Ann (1995). "The Assessment of Bilingual Children," in Verma, Corrigan, & Firth (1995), 28-47.

Rogers, Vaughan & Wilson McLeod (forthcoming 2006). "Autochthonous Minority Languages in Public-Sector Primary Education: Bilingual Policies and Politics in Brittany and Scotland".

Romaine, Suzanne (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Romaine, Suzanne (1995). *Bilingualism*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Ruddell, Robert B., Martha Rapp Ruddell & Harry Singer, eds (1994). *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading*, 4th edn. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Ruddell, Robert B. & Martha Rapp Ruddell (1994). "Language Acquisition and Literacy Processes" in Ruddell, Ruddell, & Singer (1994), 83-103.

Rudes, Blair (2000). "When You Choose, Must You Lose?: Standard Orthography Versus Dialect Diversity," in *Endangered Languages and Literacy*, Proceedings of the Fourth FEL Conference, eds Nicholas Ostler & Blair Rudes, 74-7. Bath: Foundation for Endangered Languages.

Russell, Michael (2001). "Language and Politics in Scotland," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2001), 23-28.

Scotland's Census Results Online (2006). www.scrol.gov.uk [accessed September 2006].

Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (1981). *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions*. Dalkeith: Scottish Examination Board.

Scottish Council for Research in Education (1961). *Gaelic-Speaking Children in Highland Schools.* London: University of London Press.

Scottish Examination Board (1988). *Scottish Certificate of Education: Standard Grade Arrangements in Gaelic.* Dalkeith: Scottish Examination Board.

Scottish Executive (2000). *Revitalising Gaelic: A National Asset.* Report by the Taskforce on Public Funding of Gaelic. Edinburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2005). *Report of the Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2006). www.scotland.gov.uk [accessed September 2006].

Scottish Office Education Department (1993). *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: National Guidelines Gaelic 5-14.* Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Scottish Office Education Department (1994). *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland: A Report by HM Inspectors of Schools.* Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Scottish Qualifications Authority (2005). *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions.* Glasgow: Scottish Qualifications Authority.

Scottish Parliament Information Centre (2001). "Gaelic Medium Education." Research Note RN 01/110. Edinburgh: The Scottish Parliament. available at http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/business/research/pdf_res_notes/rn01-110.pdf [accessed September 2006].

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (1981). *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (1990). *Language, Literacy and Minorites.* A Minority Rights Group Report. London: Minority Rights Group.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2000). *Linguistic Genocide in Education – Or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2002). "Irelands, Scotland, Education and Linguistic Human Rights: Some International Comparisons," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2002), 221-66.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2005). "Endangered linguistic and cultural diversities and endangered biodiversity – the role of educational linguistic human rights in diversity maintenance," available at http://www.pen-kurd.org/Diyarbakir-seminar/tove-endangered-linguistic-and-cultural-diversities.html. [accessed September 2006].

Smith, Christina (1948). *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English.* London: University of London Press.

Smith, Frank (1988). *Understanding Reading; A Psycholinguistic Analysis of Reading and Learning to Read.* 4th edn. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers.

Sonino, Elisabetta Zuanelli, ed. (1989). *Literacy in School and Society: Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* London: Plenum Press.

Soto, Lourdes Diaz (1991). "Understanding Bilingual/Bicultural Young Children,"*Young Children*, 46, 30-36.

Staiger, Ralph C., ed. (1973a). *The Teaching of Reading.* Paris: UNESCO.

Staiger, Ralph C. (1973b). "Materials for reading," in Staiger (1973a), 61-68.

Stainthorp, Rhona (2003). "Phonology and Learning to Read," in Hall, Larson, & Marsh (2003), 209-21.

Stake, Robert E. (1994). "Case Studies," in Denzin & Lincoln (1994), 236-47.

Stake, Robert E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research.* London: SAGE Publications.

Stanovich, Keith E. (2000). *Progress in Understanding Reading: Scientific Foundations and New Frontiers.* London: The Guilford Press.

Stierer, Barry & Janet Maybin, eds (1994). *Language, Literacy and Learning in Educational Practice.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Stradling, R. N. & M. M. MacNeil (1995). *Teacher Training for Gaelic Medium Education.* Sleat, Isle of Skye: Lèirsinn (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig).

Stradling, Robert & Morag MacNeil (1996). *Gaelic Medium Education: The Critical Skills.* Commissioned from Lèirsinn Research Centre, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig by the Inter-Authority Standing Group for Gaelic.

Stradling, Bob & Morag MacNeil (2000). *Home and Community: Their role in enhancing the Gaelic language competencies of children in Gaelic-medium Education.* Executive Summary. Isle of Skye: Lèirsinn Research Centre.

Street, Brian V. (1995). *Social Literacies: Critical Approaches to Literacy in Development, Ethnography, and Education.* London: Longman.

Street, Brian (2004). "Futures of the Ethnography of Literacy?" *Language and Education*, 18 (4), 326-30.

Stubbs, Michael, Bernadette Robinson, & Sally Twite (1979). *Observing Classroom Language.* Block 5. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

Stubbs, Michael (1980). *Language and Literacy: The Sociolinguistics of Reading and Writing.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Sulzby, Elizabeth (1994). "Children's Emergent Reading of Favorite Storybooks: A Developmental Study," in Ruddell, Ruddell, & Singer (1994), 244-80.

Sutherland, Margaret B. (2000). "Problems of Diversity in Policy and Practice: Celtic languages in the United Kingdom," *Comparative Education*, 36, 199-209.

Taylor, Denny (1994). "Family Literacy: Conservation and Change in the Transmission of Literacy Styles and Values," in *Language and Literacy in Social Practice*, ed. Janet Maybin, 58-72. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Teale, William H. (1986). "Home Background and Young Children's Literacy Development," in Teale & Sulzby (1986a), 173-206.

Teale, William H. & Elizabeth Sulzby, eds (1986a). *Emergent Literacy: Writing and Reading.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Teale, William H. & Elizabeth Sulzby (1986b). "Emergent Literacy as a Perspective for Examining How Young Children Become Writers and Readers," in Teale & Sulzby (1986a), vii-xxv.

Ternes, Elmar (1989). *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic, Based on the Dialect of Applecross, Ross-shire.* 2nd edn. Frankfurt: Helmut Buske Verlag Hamburg.

Thompson, Brenda (1979). *Reading Success: A Guide for Teachers and Parents.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

Thompson, G. Brian & Rhona S. Johnston (1993). "The Effects of Type of Instruction on Processes of Reading Acquisition," in *Reading Acquisition Processes*, eds G. Brian Thompson, William E. Tunmer & Tom Nicholson, 74-90. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Thompson, G. Brian (1997). "The Teaching of Reading," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 9-17.

Thomson, Derick S. (1966). "The Role of the Writer in a Minority Culture," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 44, 256-71.

Thomson, Derick S. (1984). "Publishing in Scottish Gaelic," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 5, 259-65.

Thomson, Derick (1990). "Gaelic in Scotland: Assessment and Prognosis," in Haugen, McClure, & Thomson (1990), 10-20.

Titone, Renzo (1989). "Early Bilingual Reading: Retrospects and Prospects," in Sonino (1989), 261-76.

Towell, Richard & Roger Hawkins (1994). *Approaches to Second Language Acquisition.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Tunmer, William E. (1997). "Metalinguistic Skills in Reading Development," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 27-36.

Uí Ghrádaigh, Déirdre (1981). "Múineadh Léitheoireacht na Gaeilge mar Dhara Teanga sa Bhunscoil," *Teagasc na Gaeilge*, 2, ed. Liam Mac Mathúna, 23-41. Dublin: Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge.

UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003). *Language Vitality and Endangerment.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, WWF, & Terralingua (2003). *Sharing a World of Difference: the Earth's linguistic, cultural and biological diversity.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2006). http://portal.unesco.org/en [accessed September 2006].

Urquhart, Sandy & Cyril Weir (1998). *Reading in a Second Language: Process, Product and Practice.* New York: Longman.

Verhoeven, Ludo (1987). *Ethnic Minority Children Acquiring Literacy.* Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Verhoeven, Ludo (1997). "Functional Literacy," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 127-32.

Verma, Mahendra K., Karen P. Corrigan, & Sally Firth, eds (1995). *Working with Bilingual Children: Good Practice in the Primary Classroom.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Walker, Sue (1997). "Handwriting Skills," in Edwards & Corson (1997), 97-105.

Wallace, Catherine (1986). *Learning to Read in a Multicultural Society: The Social Context of Second Language Literacy.* Language Teaching Methodology Series. Oxford: Pergamon Institute of English.

Ward, Rosemary (2003). "Managing Provision: The School Perspective," in Nicolson & MacIver (2003a), 35-46.

Watson, M.J. (1995). "Gaelic lexical resources in primary schools". Unpublished MLitt dissertation, University of Aberdeen.

Watson, Moray (1997). "Constructing a Gaelic Dictionary for Children: some phonological and orthographic considerations," *Journal of Celtic Language Learning*, 3, 51-58.

Watson, Moray J. (1999). "Assessing the Suitability of Scottish Gaelic Dictionaries for the Classroom," *Journal of Celtic Language Learning*, 4, 42-55.

Watson, Moray (2003). "Stuth-Teagaisg Gàidhlig anns na Bun-Sgoiltean," *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 21, 153-61.

Watson, Mike (MSP) (2002). "Towards a Language Policy for Scotland," in Kirk & Ó Baoill (2002), 27-34.

Weaver, Constance (1988). *Reading Process and Practice: from socio-psycholinguistics to whole language.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books.

Weinberger, Jo, Peter Hannon & Cathy Nutbrown (1990). *Ways of Working with Parents to Promote Early Literacy Development.* USDE Papers in Education, No. 14. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

Weinert, Regina. (1990). "A Study of Classroom Second Language Development". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Whalley, Margy (2001). *Involving Parents in their Children's Learning.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing, Ltd.

Whitebread, David (2003). "Introduction: Young Children Learning and Early Years Teaching," in *Teaching and Learning in the Early Years,* 2nd edn., ed. David Whitebread, 1-22. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Whitehead, Marian (1996). *The Development of Language and Literacy.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Whitehead, Marian R. (1997). *Language and Literacy in the Early Years.* 2nd edn. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Whitehead, Marian (1999). *Supporting Language and Literacy Development in the Early Years.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Wilkinson, Eric J. (2003). *Early Childhood Education: The New Agenda.* Policy and Practice in Education 6. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.

Wilkinson, Louise C. & Elaine R. Silliman (2000). "Classroom Language and Literacy Learning," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 337-60.

Williams, Colin H. (1992). "Assimilating Newcomers: an insidious threat or a welcome development?" in *The Lesser Used Languages – Assimilating Newcomers,* Proceedings of the Conference held at Carmarthen 1991, ed. Llinos Dafis, 8-27.

Williams, James & Grace Snipper (1990). *Literacy and Bilingualism.* New York: Longman.

Winch, Gordon *et al.* (2001). *Literacy: Reading, Writing, and Children's Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wragg, E.C., C.M. Wragg, G.S. Haynes & R.P. Chamberlin (1998). *Improving Literacy in the Primary School.* London: Routledge.

Wragg, E.C. (1999). *An Introduction to Classroom Observation.* 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Wray, David & Jane Medwell (1991). *Literacy and Language in the Primary Years.* London: Routledge.

Wray, David & Jane Medwell (2002). "What do effective teachers of literacy know, believe and do?" in Fisher, Brooks, & Lewis (2002), 55-65.

Wurm, Stephen A. (2001). *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing.* 2nd edn. Paris: UNESCO.

Yaden, David B. Jr., Deborah W. Rowe, & Laurie MacGillivray (2000). "Emergent Literacy: A Matter (Polyphony) of Perspectives," in Kamil *et al.* (2000), 425-54.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: observation schedule for case-study schools

classroom	observation round 1		observation round 2	
Central P1	3/11/04 (pm)	4/11/04 (pm)	26/1/05 (pm)	27/1/05 (pm)
Central P2-3	4/11/04 (am)		27/1/05 (pm)	
Daliburgh P3-4	10/11/04 (pm)	11/11/04 (am)	9/2/05 (am)	9/2/05 (pm)
Meadowburn P1-2	26/10/04 (am)	27/10/04 (pm)	13/1/05 (am)	18/1/05 (pm)
Salen P1-3	1/11/04 (pm)	2/11/04 (am)	2/2/05 (pm)	3/2/05 (am)
Sleat P1-2	28/10/04 (pm)	29/10/04 (am)	19/1/05 (pm)	20/1/05 (am)
Stornoway P1-2	12/11/04 (am)	12/11/04 (pm)	10/2/05 (pm)	11/2/05 (am)
classroom	observation round 3		observation round 4	
Central P1	17/3/05 (pm)	18/3/05 (am)	26/5/05 (pm)	27/5/05 (am)
Central P2-3	18/3/05 (pm)		27/5/05 (pm)	
Daliburgh P3-4	4/5/05 (am)	4/5/05 (pm)	7/6/05 (am)	7/6/05 (pm)
Meadowburn P1-2	7/3/05 (am)	7/3/05 (pm)	17/5/05 (am)	17/5/05 (pm)
Salen P1-3	9/3/05 (pm)	10/3/05 (am)	12/5/05 (pm)	13/5/05 (am)
Sleat P1-2	14/3/05 (pm)	15/3/05 (am)	18/5/05 (pm)	19/5/05 (am)
Stornoway P1-2	3/5/05 (am)	3/5/05 (pm)	6/6/06 (am)	6/6/05 (pm)

(52 sessions: approximately 130 hours of observation total)

Appendix B: Sample of Fieldwork Data and Analysis from a Case-Study Classroom

Environmental Print/Labels

an taigh
stuthan àireamh -
leabhraichean-obrach
leabhraichean leughaidh –
"Storyworlds" Ìrean 1-3
bhidio agus teapaichean [sic]
naidheachd
sgrìobhadh
àireamh
lamh-sgrìobhadh [sic]
fuaimean
leughadh
gràmar 2
creideamh
stiocairean
topaic [sic]
computar [sic]
preasa
àm cluich fliuch
stuthan àireamh – geamannan
rulairean [sic]
creidheanan tiugh
peansailean dathte
creidheanan caol
siosairean [sic]
pinn dathte
an leabharlann
doras
teasadair
bòrd-sgrìobhaidh
deotairean [sic]
stuthan an tidsear
àireamh
cànan
ceòl
drama
gainmheach
paipear
stuthan ealain
obair an là

[children's names]
[number lines]
[colours]
[months]
[days of week]

Class Rules

Riaghailtean a' chlas
1) Cha bhith sinn a' ruith 'sa [sic] chlas.
2) Bidh sinn a' cuir suas ar làmh [sic] – cha bhidh [sic] sinn ag eigheach [sic] a-mach.
3) Bidh sinn ag eisteachd. [sic]
4) Tha sinn coibhneil ri cheile. [sic]
5) Ma tha an tidsear trang – chan eil sinn a' cuir dragh oirre.
6) Dèan do dhicheall [sic] le d'obair. [sic]
7) Bidh sinn a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig fad na h-uine. [sic]

Alphabet Chart

Fuaimean
ad annasach
banana buidhe
cat crosda [sic]
damhan-allaidh dubh
Eachan each
Fearghas Feòrag
goiriola [sic] gorm

Iain itealag
leòmhann laghach
Màiri muc
nathair neònach
òr-iasg orains
Poilidh pitheid
ròn reamhar
Sam sgàilean
tuaisdear [sic] toilichte
uilebheist uaine

Order of Letter Formation (including alternate "Teaching Phonics" version)

c o a d g h
r n m i l b p t u
f s e

c a d g o e
i l t u
r n m b p
s f

I L T H E U
D B P R
O C G
A N M
S F

Writing Wall

Balla an Sgrìobhaidh

Cò a th'anns an stoiridh [sic]?
Dè thachair anns an stoiridh [sic]?
Carson a thachair e?
Cùin [sic] a thachair e?
Càite an do thachair e?
Ciamar a bha e/i a' faireachdainn?

Toisich gach seantans le litir mhòr.
Tha stad puing aig deireadh gach seantans.
Dèan speas [sic] corrag eadar gach facal.
Cleachd agus no ach airson ceangal seantans.
Fuaimnich a-mach na faclan agad.
Leugh do sgrìobhadh gu caraid.

Word Lists

Faclan Feumail

a' dol	bheil
am falach	beag
gu	mòr
comhla ri [sic]	?

!
.
airson
dhan
chan e
ro mhòr
glè mhath
t-uilebheist
cò-là-breith [sic]
tidsear
ag iarraidh
thu
nan
tha
geal
nach
bha
càite
agam
oir
agus
chuir
seo
cò
na
sin
fhuair
dubh
ach
leamsa
chaidh
a' chlann
air
thuirt
anns
sgoil
e
oidhche mhath
math
choimhead
iad
's e
le
leabhar
aig
chunnaic
an
leis
mo
thàinig
uncal [sic]
co-ogha
Mamaidh
mi
caraid
mise
antaidh
bhràthair
Dadaidh
phiuthair [sic]
a' dèanamh
a' leum
a' cluich
a' ruith
an raoir
latha
oidhche
an dè
a-màireach
an diugh
t-seachdain
amar-snàmh
a' gharradh [sic]
tràigh
pàrtaidh
raon-cluiche
taigh
a' phàirc
a muigh
a' bhùth
gruamach
greannach
air mo dhòigh
ann an deagh shunnd
truim [sic] mhath
toilichte
tùrsach
brònach
crosta
mi-thoilichte [sic]

Notes from Observation Round Four, Sessions One and Two

9:05 am

- children enter, hand in work and number cards from homework – [teacher] talks to each throughout
- children lose stars for not being ready to sit in library – pupil to pupil speech is mainly English with some Gaelic vocabulary, but strong efforts to use Gaelic to [teacher] – even P1 pupils
- morning rituals (greetings, day, weather)
- discussion of upcoming work on writing – use of question words (5 Cs [cò, carson, cuin, càite, ciamar] and D [dè]) – use of writing wall ([teacher] points to posted words under headings, children read)
- P1 emphasis on "Ciamar a bha e/i a' faireachdainn?" – words from *Coco* and *Mata Mòr* Storyworlds books, also "little words" on cupboard door (especially for spelling)
- checking list of dinners (school v. home)
- P2 now use coloured pencils, P1 new crayons – use of sharp pencils for clear handwriting

9:25 am

- P1 to small blackboard, P2 to desks
- P2: handwriting in jotters on "r" (sound not name) – letter formation upper and lower case, r-initial words; Storyworlds *A' Ghrian agus a' Ghaoth* packet (green group) or *Gille Ruadh agus an Druma* – 'captains' distribute work
- P1: work with *Mata Mòr air Chuairt* – all read aloud together w/[teacher] from regular copy she holds – [teacher] points w/finger, reads 'teacher sections' – emphasis on 'brònach' relating to earlier discussion of feelings
- characters' feelings related to pupils' – choosing characters and reasons for story – thinking in heads – stand one at a time to share (1 sentence each in set structures) – [teacher] quizzes others on content
- illustrations (done before writing) must be accurate – [teacher] writes necessary vocabulary on board but encourages use of writing wall
- [teacher] changes pupils' seats for writing and distributes jotters

9:50 am

- switch: P2 to board for 5Cs and D work
- new task: "Ciamar a thionndaidh an stoiridh a-mach?" – [teacher] provides beginning of story on sheet, she reads it aloud
- answering questions – [teacher] rereads since pupils were not ready to, then pupils take turns reading sentences
- definitions of phrases and words – [teacher] does not want English equivalent
- she reads *again* with expression (10:10 am – headteacher enters with visitors; headteacher speaks some Gaelic to children and looks at their work)
- questions to answer in *Storyworlds* workbook – [teacher] goes over both questions and answers and 'plan' of story

10:15 am

- P2s at desks, [teacher] circulates through P1 with classroom assistant – writes unknown words on Post-its®, reminds of "speas corrag"

- most pupils work quietly at desks

10:25 am
- stop work for break/snack/toilets

10:50 am
- return
- [teacher] reviews work to be finished – she sounds out words exaggeratedly for P2 to spell
- circulates, but pupils' attention poor – repetitions and reprimands frequent
- often pupils (esp. P1) can *read* but not *write* words
- different work speeds occasionally cause problems; either pupils bored with no task left or struggling to finish in time

11:15 am
- P2 continue reading story, P1 to board for maths
- mental work, but use fingers – "thoir x air falbh bho x", "x nas lugha na x" – mostly with 5
- headteacher enters to look at P2 work, uses some Gaelic – pupils get dictionary for her – she knows all pupil names
- work with *Matamataig Heinemann Alba* "toirt air falbh gu 10" – [teacher] goes over directions – some pupils on "duilleagan sgrùdaidh" review
- classroom assistant helping P2 (she also uses dictionary)
- P1s return to their own seats
- [teacher] rubs out wrong answers on pupils' worksheets – headteacher moves to P1

11:50 am
- P2 tidies and goes to library, although not quiet and not much reading going on
- P1 has work checked, then can play
- all to front once everyone is finished
- wrap up morning work – pupils answer sums question to be dismissed

12:10 pm
- lunch

1:05 pm
- children enter, dress for gym (English-speaking supply teacher)
- outside: follow [supply teacher] as leader, pupils speak in English, poor discipline – she doesn't know names
- each chooses partner and gets foam ball to toss back and forth
- [supply teacher] circulates, encouraging – throwing, rolling, catching, bouncing – trying for baskets
- no direct teaching involved, little organisation or discipline

1:30 pm
- balls collected
- each is told to stand in lines around court
- skip down line and back across court – as relay race (twice)
- follow the leader again to end and return to building

1:50 pm

- return to class and change
- [supply teacher] tells story (in English) about Christmas and snowy weather (incongruent due to season) – good expression – attention quite good but minimal interaction (occasional pupil-directed questions)
- ritual goodbye

2:00 pm

- 3 words on board for P2 spelling homework: dha, dhan, dheth – different "dh" sounds, difference between "dha" and "dhà" ([teacher] refers to "a fada") - letters sounded out definitions and examples from pupils –
- write in spelling jotter, copying from board – tonight write each 3x and use in sentence
- P1: finish work or read over marked work, P2s get jotter checked then put in homework folder with *Storyworlds* level 4 "faclan cumanta" for green group
- all read over stories they have written silently in own head so they can then read aloud fluently to class

2:15 pm

- one by one (P1 table, then P2, then P1, then P2) – applause after – [teacher] has to prompt occasionally
- [teacher] has highlighted (literally) proper punctuation and capitalisation, neat writing, good word choice
- [teacher] often rereads in louder voice
- for P2s [teacher] reads provided beginning (see morning activity) and prompts pupils on own writing – emphasis on proper sentences – 3 pupils are asked to read entire piece
- attention doesn't hold for all 20 pupils (finished at 2:40)
- "special writers" stand and get badges

2:45 pm

- tidy up
- all sit at front board – points and stars for groups for good work
- P2 spelling homework, P1 number homework - each must bring rubber in tomorrow
- tomorrow: for topic work, Grannies coming in (some Gaelic speakers) – homework to discuss possible questions with parents
- in last 5 minutes play "leis mo shùil bheag" ("I spy") – [teacher] starts – initial sounds – correct guess starts next round

2:55 pm

- go by groups to get ready to go home

Thematic Analysis of Observation Session

Environmental Print

- day of week, date, and weather discussed each morning
- names on cards used for attendance (recognition; P2s read aloud)
- names also label desks: first and last name, pink for girls and blue for boys
- P1 can write names independently and are encouraged to do so on work

- daily responsibilities chart: pupil's name, label of task, picture, number of pupils involved

Songs and Rhymes
- rote phrases for morning routine

Flashcards
- days of week, weather, and names as part of morning routine
- word grids from *Storyworlds:* each pupil has a turn reading one word aloud, therefore must pay attention to all to know place
- "faclan cumanta" from *Storyworlds* is introduced one sub-series at a time

Reading and Writing Walls
- library corner used often but not just for reading
- P2s use word wall/"faclan cumanta" to help with spelling
- word wall is supplemented by Post-its® for specific words for individual pupils
- words under headings – often referenced by teacher for pupils to read aloud

Grammar/Spelling/Punctuation
- search word wall for specific words and punctuation
- P2 focus on correct punctuation, spacing, and capitalisation
- emphasis on accent marking long vowel (more in reading than writing)
- for P2 practicing "r": handwriting, upper and lower case formation, "r"-initial words brain-stormed
- for P2: teacher sounds out words exaggeratedly (phoneme stretching) when pupils ask for spelling rather than writing out word to copy
- late in P2 broad versus slender consonants are discussed (e.g. "dh")
- use of highlighter on proper punctuation, capitalisation, neat writing, and good word choices in pupils' jotters (also shown to class)
- emphasis on use of proper sentences

Vocabulary
- "fuaimean" jotters
- vocabulary is themed by phonics or *Storyworlds* grids
- admonition to "use interesting vocabulary"
- metalanguage of books, e.g. "title"
- Post-its® directly into writing jotters for new words and spelling
- some words for general or frequent use written on board
- definitions of phrases and words in Gaelic, not English equivalent

Resources
- jotters for subjects
- dictionary used for initial letter examples and to look for vocabulary through pictures
- [see book list below in Appendix D]

Storyworlds
- packets of worksheets used
- each pupil has individual book for reading groups and to take home
- pupils are farther ahead in books than worksheets (therefore not working on linked book and worksheet concurrently)

- words drawn from books for writing
- use of provided "faclan cumanta"
- P1s making minimal progress on scheme

Techniques

- pupils use sounds to help themselves spell words
- P2 pupils read instruction on worksheets independently
- interactive reading: teacher follows with finger, pupils point to individual words, join in on choruses
- three reading groups (red: all P1, yellow: less able P2, green: advanced P2)
- P1s identify letter by sound and think of a word with that initial sound – sometimes English words are suggested
- introducing a letter: alphabet sheet [see list], upper and lower case, pictures of letter-initial words, pupils with that letter in their name, discussion of formation, pupils write on main board and individual whiteboard, sound worksheets
- sound out word by following letters with finger, then put together [i.e. blending] if not immediately recognised
- discussion of question words (5 Cs and D) for P2 writing assignment – examples
- character analysis: relating texts to pupils' own lives, predicting behaviour and endings
- teacher introduces questions *and* answers for worksheets
- teacher, classroom assistant, and headteacher all model dictionary use

Appendix C: Teacher and Parent Interviews and Questionnaires (*formatted to conserve space*)

Appendix C1: Education Authority Interview Form

1- How many schools offer GME in this authority?

2- How many pupils are currently enrolled in each class?

3- How many Gaelic teachers are employed?

4- Was it difficult to find a suitable number of qualified teachers?

5- Is there a demand that cannot be met?

6- What instigated GME for this authority? (policy, parents, etc.)

7- In your opinion, what is the community reaction to the provision of GME? Do you perceive any difference between Gaelic speakers and non-speakers?

8- Are children and parents generally pleased with GME?

9- How is information about GME disseminated throughout the community? (open days, pamphlets, adverts)

10- Can you identify any specific challenges facing the system?

11- What are the authority's plans for further development of GME?

***Appendix C2**: Initial Teacher Questionnaire*

Ceisteachan airson Tidsearan P1-3 ann am Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig

Fiosrachadh Pearsanta

- Ainm: _____
- Dreuchd: _____
- Àireamh fòn aig an sgoil: _____
- Post-d: _____
- Sgoil: _____

  Àireamh de bhliadhnaichean a tha sibh air a bhith a' teagasg: _____
- Àireamh de bhliadhnaichean a tha sibh air a bhith a' teagasg tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig: _____
- Oilthigh no colaiste far an d'fhuair sibh ur ceum/teisteanas: _____

Tuarisgeul Clas

- Na clasaichean a tha mar uallach oirbh: _____
- A bheil an clas agaibh co-dhèante (*composite*)? Ma tha, dè na h-ìrean? _____
- Aoisean nan sgoilearan, mu thuairmeas: _____
- Àireamh de sgoilearan sa chlas agaibh (*ma tha an clas co-dhèante, cuiribh sìos na h-àireamhan anns na clasaichean fa-leth*): _____
- Àireamh de theaghlaichean: _____
- Àireamh de bhalaich: _____

  Àireamh de chaileagan: _____

Thoiribh freagairtean do na ceistean a leanas a rèir an fhiosrachaidh as fheàrr a th' agaibh.

- Àireamh de sgoilearan aig an robh an cànan bho thùs: _____

  Àireamh de luchd-ionnsachaidh: _____
- Àireamh de sgoilearan a tha a' fuireach ann an dachaighean far a bheil Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn: _____
- Àireamh de sgoilearan a chaidh do sgoil-àraich Ghàidhlig: _____

Àrainneachd na Sgoile

Nach sgrìobh sìos ur beachd fhèin mu choinneamh nan ceistean a leanas, mas e ur toil e.

- Nur beachd, a bheil poileasaidh cànain na sgoile dà-chànanach no meadhan-Ghàidhlig? _____
- Nur beachd, a bheil a' chuid eile den sgoile a' toirt taic don aonad Ghàidhlig? _____
- A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil "àile Gàidhlig" san aonad? _____
- Dè an ìre 's a tha an t-aonad Gàidhlig ceangailte ris a' chuid eile den sgoil? _____

_____

- A bheil sibh a' cleachdadh dhòighean bogaidh (*immersion)* sa chlas agaibh? _____

_____

- Dè an ceudad, mu thuairmeas, de Ghàidhlig is de Bheurla a tha gan cleachdadh sa chlas? (*ma tha an clas co-dhèante, cuiribh sìos na h-àireamhan anns na clasaichean fa-leth):*
  sibh fhèin: _____
  na sgoilearan: _____
- Dè an ceudad de thaisbeanaidhean san rùm agaibh (postaran, bileagan, obair sgoilearan, m.s.a.a.) a tha sa Ghàidhlig? _____

A' dol an sàs anns a' phròiseact

Comharraichibh an seo nam biodh sibh deònach a dhol an sàs anns an rannsachadh seo bharrachd air lìonadh a' cheisteachain seo.

- Am biodh sibh deònach ceisteachan nas mionaidiche a lìonadh, a bhiodh a'dèileagadh ris na dòighean agaibh gus litirreachd a theagasg? _____
- Am biodh sibh deònach pàirt a ghabhail ann an agallamh neo-fhoirmeil, air a' fòn no ann an coinneamh phearsanta?(*Cuiribh sìos dè as fheàrr leibh*): _____
- Am biodh sibh deònach pàrantan a thoirt a-steach don phròiseact, mar eisimpleir le ceisteachain is agallamhan? _____
- Am biodh sibh deònach na sgoilearan agaibh a thoirt a-steach don phròiseact, mar eisimpleir le agallamhan neo-fhoirmeil? _____
- Am biodh sibh deònach seiseanan sgrùdaidh sa chlas a cheadachadh (*classroom observation* – faic an litir thùsail), thairis air a' bhliadhna sgoile 'sa tighinn (2004-2005)? _____

_____

Ma tha beachdan no fiosrachadh eile a bhiodh feumail no freagarrach a thaobh a' phròiseict seo, nach sgrìobh iad sìos an seo, mas e ur toil e. Ma tha ceistean no draghannan sam bith agaibh mun rannsachadh seo, nach chuir sibh fios thugam. Mòran taing airson ur cuideachadh.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Questionnaire for Gaelic-Medium Primary 1-3 Teachers

Personal Background

- Name: _____
- Position: _____
- Contact number at school: _____
- E-mail: _____
- School: _____
- Number of years you have taught: _____
  Number of years you have taught in Gaelic-medium: _____
- Teacher education institution from which you received your degree/certificate: _____

Class Composition

- Classes you are responsible for: _____
- Is your class composite? If so, which years? _____
- Approximate age range: _____
- Number of pupils in your class (*please list separately if composite*): _____
- Number of families represented: _____
- Number of boys: _____ Number of girls: _____

Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge.

- Number of native speakers: _____ Number of learners: _____
- Number of pupils who live in homes where Gaelic is spoken: _____
- Number of pupils who attended a Gaelic nursery: _____

School Atmosphere

Please give your opinion with regard to the following questions.

- Would you describe the school's language policy as bilingual or Gaelic-medium? _____
- In your experience, is the rest of the school supportive of the Gaelic-medium unit? _____
  _____
- Do you feel the unit has a "Gaelic ethos"? _____
  _____
- To what extent is the Gaelic unit integrated into the rest of the school? _____
  _____
- Is your classroom run on an immersion basis? _____
  _____
- What is the approximate percentage of Gaelic to English used in the classroom? (*If your class is composite, please indicate separately by year):*
  by yourself _____
  by the pupils: _____
- What is the proportion of displays in your classroom (posters, labels, students' work, etc.) in Gaelic? _____

Further Involvement

Please indicate your willingness to contribute further to this research.

- Would you be willing to complete another, more detailed questionnaire concerning your techniques for teaching literacy? _____
- Would you be willing to participate in an informal interview, either over the telephone or in person? (*Please state preference*): _____
- Would you be willing to involve parents in this study, for example through questionnaires and interviews? _____
- Would you be willing to involve your pupils in this study, for example through informal interviews? _____
- Would you be willing to permit several sessions of classroom observation (as described in the introductory letter) over the next academic year (2004-2005)? _____

_____

Please use the space below for further comments, or other information you feel would be useful for this project. If you have any concerns or questions about this questionnaire, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me. Many thanks for your help.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

***Appendix C3**: Follow-up Teacher Questionnaire*

Questionnaire for Gaelic-Medium Primary 1-3 Teachers
"Teaching Techniques and Resources"

- Name: _____
- School: _____

1. Literacy

1.1 When do you formally introduce reading?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ Autumn P1	___	Autumn P1	___
▪ Spring P1	___	Spring P1	___
▪ Autumn P2	___	Autumn P2	___
▪ Spring P2	___	Spring P2	___
▪ Autumn P3	___	Autumn P3	___
▪ Spring P3	___	Spring P3	___

1.2 At what point do you consider the majority of your pupils to be fluent readers?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ Autumn P2	___	Autumn P2	___
▪ Spring P2	___	Spring P2	___
▪ Autumn P3	___	Autumn P3	___
▪ Spring P3	___	Spring P3	___
▪ After P3	___	After P3	___

1.3 Approximately how many stories do you tell or read aloud per week?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ 0-5	___	0-5	___
▪ 5-10	___	5-10	___
▪ 10-20	___	10-20	___
▪ >20	___	>20	___

1.4 How often do you use songs, poems, or other rhythmic, rhyming language?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ 2-3 times/day	___	2-3 times/day	___
▪ Daily	___	Daily	___
▪ 2-3 times/week	___	2-3 times/week	___
▪ 2-3 times/month	___	2-3 times/month	___
▪ Less often	___	Less often	___

1.5 When do you formally introduce writing?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ Autumn P1	___	Autumn P1	___
▪ Spring P1	___	Spring P1	___
▪ Autumn P2	___	Autumn P2	___
▪ Spring P2	___	Spring P2	___
▪ Autumn P3	___	Autumn P3	___
▪ Spring P3	___	Spring P3	___

1.6 How often do your pupils engage in their own writing?

in Gaelic		in English	
▪ 2-3 times/day	___	2-3 times/day	___

▪ Daily	___	Daily	___
▪ 2-3 times/week	___	2-3 times/week	___
▪ 2-3 times/month	___	2-3 times/month	___
▪ Less often	___	Less often	___

1.7 How would you describe your techniques for teaching literacy? (*You may mark more than one answer if applicable)*

- o Phonics ___
- o "Look-and-Say" ___
- o Whole language/"Real Books" ___
- o Language experience approach ___
- o Other (*Please detail*) ___

_____
_____
_____

2. Resources and Materials

2.1 What are your main sources for Gaelic materials? *(You may mark more than one answer if applicable)*

- o Stòrlann ___
- o Comhairle nan Leabhraichean ___
- o Local education authority ___
- o Your own school/other teachers ___
- o Self-produced ___
- o Other (*please detail)* ___

_____
_____
_____

2.2 Please indicate your satisfaction with the following aspects of the Gaelic material available:

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Not at all satisfied
quantity	___	___	___
range	___	___	___
quality	___	___	___
popularity	___	___	___

If you have any other comments on Gaelic publishing, you may add them here.

_____
_____
_____

2.3 To what extent are "paste-overs" used?

- o To a great extent ___
- o Occasionally ___
- o Rarely or never ___

2.4 Do you utilize reading schemes (e.g. "Storyworlds")?

o in Gaelic		in English	
▪ Yes, just one	___	Yes, just one	___
▪ Yes, two or more	___	Yes, two or more	___
▪ No	___	No	___
o if so, how frequently?		if so, how frequently?	
▪ Daily	___	Daily	___
▪ Often	___	Often	___

- Occasionally ___ Occasionally ___
- Rarely ___ Rarely ___

2.5 Approximately how often do you use the following supplementary materials per week?

- in Gaelic in English
  - Worksheets _____ Worksheets _____
  - Taped stories _____ Taped stories _____
  - Other audio _____ Other audio _____
  - Video/TV _____ Video/TV _____
  - Computer _____ Computer _____

3. Networking

3.1 To what extent do you utilize other teachers as a resource for advice, materials, new ideas, and so forth?

- Other Gaelic-medium Other English-medium
  - Often ___ Often ___
  - Occasionally ___ Occasionally ___
  - Rarely or never ___ Rarely or never ___

3.2 To what extent do you receive direct support from parents and the wider community (in the form of volunteer work, fund-raising, classroom visits, and other help)?

- To a great extent ___
- Occasionally ___
- Rarely or never ___

3.3 Are you able to access online resources (e.g. Gàidhlig air-loidhne)?

- Yes, and I find these helpful ___
- Yes, but I do not find these helpful ___
- No, but I would like to ___
- No, and I do not intend to ___

3.4 What types of in-service training opportunities do you take advantage of?

	Termly	Annually	Less Often
o In-service days	___	___	___
o Off-site day courses	___	___	___
o Conferences	___	___	___
o Self-initiated courses	___	___	___
o Other (*please detail)*	___	___	___

_____

_____

Please use the space below for further comments, or other information you feel would be useful for this project. If you have any concerns or questions about this questionnaire, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me. Many thanks for your help.

_____

_____

_____

***Appendix C4*: Teacher Interview Form**

Date and time of Interview:
Duration:

Name:
Position:
School:
Years Teaching:
Classes:
Numbers:
Gender:
Native Speakers/Learners:
Nursery:

I'd like to start the interview with some questions about Gaelic language use.

What is your own language background?
- Do you speak Gaelic outside of school on a regular basis?
- How often do you read in Gaelic?
- What about writing in Gaelic?
- Do you read and write in Gaelic for pleasure?

Do you feel that your language skills are supported and developed through teaching? (for example, opportunities to extend vocabulary or become acquainted with new conventions)

To what extent do you follow the Gaelic orthographic conventions?
- Do you find that Gaelic-speaking parents are familiar with these conventions?
- How do you deal with resources that do not match your established guidelines?

How well do you feel that your teacher training prepared you for teaching reading in two languages?
    - What additional training would be helpful?

In your opinion, what influence does English have on your pupils' Gaelic?
    - Do you perceive this difference in both speech and writing?

How do you encourage your pupils to speak, read, and write Gaelic?
- What methods do you find particularly effective?
- What have you found is the best way to encourage children's natural usage of Gaelic and vocabulary development in Gaelic?
- Do you use journals or other written dialogue in communicating with your older pupils [P3 and above only]?

Are you aware of pupils reading Gaelic material that is not related to schoolwork?
- Do you specifically encourage or reward this behaviour?

Do you notice the pupils using Gaelic outside the classroom, for example on the playground or in the halls?

- Do you yourself use Gaelic at school outside the classroom (to other teachers, to headteacher, to pupils)?

To what extent is the headteacher involved in what happens in the classroom?
- Does he/she speak Gaelic?

Now I would like to ask some questions about Gaelic at home and in the wider community.

Do Gaelic-speaking parents and other visitors ever come to your class, either to give a presentation or to help out?
- How often?
- If your class goes on field trips, what proportion of these involves Gaelic speakers and Gaelic-speaking areas?
- Is it difficult to locate and take advantage of these opportunities?

Do you notice a language advantage for those pupils who come from Gaelic-speaking homes?
- How would you describe this advantage?
- What do you see as the benefits of children having attended a Gaelic-medium nursery or playgroup?

How do you manage the different needs of native speakers and learners?

How do you keep parents informed of what is happening in the classroom, particularly those who do not have Gaelic?

To what extent do you request parents to become involved with homework, for example by hearing their child read?

We're going to move on now to questions dealing with school resources for teaching Gaelic.

What resources do you have in the classroom (e.g. class library, computers, a/v equipment, posters)?
- Are there additional resources in the school library?

Do you have a designated area in your classroom for literacy (e.g. a reading corner)?
- What sort of resources are in this area?

What visual displays in Gaelic do you have in the classroom?
- Do these include pupils' own work?

What do you perceive as the value of using video programs, computer programs, and websites in the classroom?

You noted that you use self-produced resources, such as worksheets and paste-overs, on a _____ basis. What percentage of your total resources is self-produced?
- Do you feel that children notice the difference in these materials versus commercially-produced materials?

Which reading schemes do you use?

What other materials do you use in teaching reading and writing?
- What other materials would you find useful?

The final questions of the interview deal with Gaelic-medium education in general.

Do you feel you have gained from working in a Gaelic-medium context?

What do you feel are the major benefits of Gaelic-medium education?

What are the major changes you've noticed in Gaelic-medium education since you began teaching? (for example, training, resources, public reaction, popularity)

What do you perceive to be the major challenges facing Gaelic-medium education now and in the next five years?

***Appendix C5**: Initial Parent Questionnaire*

Ceisteachan Pàraint – Leughadh 'sa Gàidhlig

Sgoil: _____
Ainm an neach-chloinne: _____
Co-là-breith an neach-chloinne: _____
Clas an neach-chloinne (P1, P2, P3): _____

A. CLEACHDADH CÀNAIN

1. Cia mheud inbheach a tha a' fuireach anns an taigh agaibh aig a bheil *Gàidhlig?* _____
   1.1 Den bhuidheann seo, cia mheud aig a bheil Gàidhlig mar chànan màthaireil? _____
2. A bheil bràithrean no peathraichean aig a bheil Gàidhlig? _____
   2.1 Cia mheud? _____
   2.2 Aoisean nam bràithrean no peathraichean _____
   2.3 A bheil iad an sàs ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig? _____
3. Am bi ur cuid chloinne a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig aig an taigh? _____
   3.1 Ri na pàrantan? _____
   3.2 Ri na bràithean no peathraichean? _____
   3.3 Ri na càirdean eile? _____
4. A thaobh dhaoine aig a bheil Gàidhlig san teaghlach, cia mheud aig a bheil comas leughaidh (gu cofhurtail) anns a' Ghàidhlig? _____
   4.1 Cia mheud aig a bheil comas sgrìobhaidh anns a' Ghàidhlig? _____
5. Dè an aois, mu thuairmeas, an robh a' chlann nuair a bha i no e an sàs ann an Gàidhlig gu minig? _____
6. Nur beachd, an i Gàidhlig cànan mathaireil an neach-chloinne? _____

B. TAIC

1. A bheil càirdean anns a' choimhearsnachd a b'urrainn dhaibh taic a' cur ri cleachdadh Gàidhlig a' chloinne? _____
2. Am bi ur clann a' dol gu buidheann taobh a-muigh an sgoile a tha a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig? (m.e. Sradagan, gnìomhan Comunn nam Pàrant, buidhinn seinn no drama) _____
3. A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gum faigh sibh fiosrachadh agus taic gu leòr bhon sgoile a thaobh foghlam a' chloinne, gu h-àraidh a thaobh Gàidhlig? _____
4. A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil tidsearan air leth a' toirt taic ri comasan agus feumannan gach clann? _____
5. A bheil an t-siostam foghlaim a' coilean ur dùilean airson eòlas a' chlann? _____
6. A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil a' chlann a' dèanamh adhartas gu dòigheil? _____
   6.1 A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil a' chlann a' dol air adhart cho luath 's tha a c/chomhaoisean? _____
   6.2 Ma thachair a' chlann ri duilgheadasan sgoilearach, an robh iad air an dèiligeadh ris ann an dòigh freagarrach? _____

C. OBAIR-DHACHAIGH

1. Am bi sibh no ur cèile a' faireachdainn comasach le cuideachadh ur clann _____

le obair-dhachaigh?

2. 'San fharsaingeachd, am b'urrainn dhuibh freagairt a chur ri ceistean a' chlann a thaobh Gàidhlig? (m.e. eachdraidh a' chànain, gràmar, briathrachas) _____
3. A bheil obair-dhachaigh soilleir an dà chuid dhuibhse agus do ur clann? _____
   3.1 Am bi an tidsear a' toirt taic gu leòr dhuibhse mar phàrant gus am bi e comasach dhuibh a bhith a' cuideachadh a' chlann le obair? _____
   3.2 Mar as trice, a bheil a' chlann deònach crìoch a chur air an obair-dhachaigh (i.e. an cùm an obair grèim air ùidh a' chlann?) _____
4. A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil meud an obrach aig a' chlann freagarrach a rèir aois agus a c/chomas inntinn? _____
5. A bheil sibh a' faireachdainn gu bheil duilgheadas na h-obrach aig a' chlann freagarrach? _____

D. LEUGHADH AIG AN TAIGH

1. Nur beachd-sa, dè cho cudromach 's a tha litirreachd mar phàirt de chomasan cànain?
   ___ glè chudromach ___ cudromach ___ rud beag cudromach
2. Ciamar a tha comas leughaidh a' chlann ann an Gàidhlig an coimeas ri a c/chomas leughaidh ann am Beurla?
   ___ Gàidhlig nas fheàrr ___ co-ionnan ___ Beurla nas fheàrr ___ chan urrainn a' chlann a bhith a' leughadh ann an dà chànan fhathast
3. Am bi sibh agus/no ur cèile no cloinn eile a' leughadh gu minig anns a' Ghàidhlig don clann? _____
4. Am bi a' chlann a' coimhead air no a' leughadh leabhraichean Gàidhligna (h-)aonar aig an taigh? _____
5. Anns an taigh, cia mheud (mu thuairmeas) leabhraichean cloinne ann an Gàidhlig a tha aig a' chlann?
   ___ nas lugha na 5 ___ 5-10 ___ 10-15 ___ 15-20 ___ nas motha na 20
   5.1 ann am Beurla?
   ___ nas lugha na 5 ___ 5-10 ___ 10-15 ___ 15-20 ___ nas motha na 20
6. Ma tha an dà sheòrsa ri fhaighinn, dè am fear a roghnaich a' chlann? _____
7. A bheil sibh riaraichte le cho furasta 's a tha e leabhraichean Gàidhlig fhaighinn? _____
   7.1 A bheil sibh riaraichte le cosgais leabhraichean cloinne? _____
   7.2 A bheil sibh riaraichte le cho tarraingeach 's a tha leabhraichean? _____

BEACHDAN A BHARRACHD

Ma tha beachdan sam bith eile a thaobh leughadh na cloinne, nach sgrìobh sibh iad sìos an-seo.

Mìle taing airson an ceisteachan seo a lìonadh. Bidh ur freagairtean mar co-phàirt riatanach den sgrùdadh agam. Ma tha sibh airson a dhol an sàs anns a' phroiseact seo gu ìre nas doimhne, mar eisempleir tro agallamh neo-fhoirmeil, nach cuir sibh am mion-fhiosrachd aig a' bhonn (roghainneil). Mòran taing a-rithist, agus buidhe oirbh!

Irene Pollock

Ainm: _____
Àireamh fòn: _____
Post-d: _____
Seòladh: _____
_____
_____

Parent Questionnaire – Reading in Gaelic

School: _____
Child's name: _____
Child's birthdate: _____
Child's class (P1, P2, P3): _____

A. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

1. How many Gaelic-speaking adults live in your child's home? _____
   1.1 Of these, how many are native speakers? _____
2. Does your child have Gaelic-speaking siblings? _____
   2.1 How many? _____
   2.2 Ages of Gaelic-speaking siblings _____
   2.3 Do these siblings also attend a Gaelic-medium unit? _____
3. Does your child speak Gaelic at home? _____
   3.1 To parents? _____
   3.2 To siblings? _____
   3.3 To extended family members? _____
4. Of the Gaelic speakers in your child's home, how many can read comfortably in Gaelic? _____
   4.1 How many can write comfortably in Gaelic? _____
5. At approximately what age was your child first exposed to Gaelic on a regular basis? _____
6. Would you consider your child to be a native speaker of Gaelic? _____

B. SUPPORT

1. Do you have family or friends in the neighbourhood that can support your child's use of Gaelic? _____
2. Does your child attend an extra-curricular group that uses Gaelic? (e.g. Sradagan, Comunn nam Parant activities, singing or drama groups) _____
3. Do you feel that you receive sufficient information and support from the school regarding your child's education, particularly in terms of Gaelic? _____
4. Do you feel that individual teachers are supportive of each child's abilities and needs? _____
5. Is the education system meeting your expectations for your child's experience? _____
6. Do you feel that your child is progressing at a satisfactory rate? _____
   6.1 Do you feel that your child is progressing at a similar rate to his or her peers? _____
   6.2 Have any academic difficulties encountered by your child been addressed in an appropriate manner? _____

C. HOMEWORK

1. Do you and/or your spouse feel able to assist your child with his or her work? _____
2. Are you generally able to answer your child's questions concerning Gaelic (e.g. history of language, grammar, vocabulary)? _____
3. Are homework assignments clear to both you and your child? _____
   3.1 Does the teacher provide sufficient aid to you as a parent to enable you to assist your child with his or her homework? _____
   3.2 Is your child usually willing to complete homework assignments (i.e. does the work hold your child's interest?) _____

4. Do you feel that the amount of homework that your child has is appropriate for his or her age and ability? ____
5. Do you feel that the difficulty of homework is appropriate? ____

D. READING IN THE HOME

1. How important do you feel literacy is as a component of ability in Gaelic?
   ___ very important ___ important ___ not very important
2. How does your child's reading ability in Gaelic compare to his or her reading ability in English?
   ___ Gaelic better ___ about equal ___ English better ___ not applicable
3. Do you and/or your spouse or other children regularly read in Gaelic to your child? ____
4. Does your child independently look at or read Gaelic books at home? ____
5. In your home, approximately how many children's books does your child have access to in Gaelic?
   ___ fewer than 5 ___ 5-10 ___ 10-15 ___ 15-20 ___ more than 20
   5.1 in English?
   ___ fewer than 5 ___ 5-10 ___ 10-15 ___ 15-20 ___ more than 20
6. If both are available, does your child prefer the English or Gaelic books? ____
7. Are you satisfied with the availability of children's books in Gaelic? ____
   7.1 Are you satisfied with the expense of children's books in Gaelic? ____
   7.2 Are you satisfied with the appeal of children's books in Gaelic? ____

FURTHER COMMENTS

If you have any further comments on your child's reading, please write them here.

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire. Your responses will form an irreplaceable component of my analysis. If you would like to become further involved in this project, for example through an informal interview, please fill in your contact details below (optional). Thank you again, and best of luck to you and your child!

Irene Pollock

Name: _____
Contact number: _____
E-mail: _____
Address: _____
_____
_____

***Appendix C6**: Follow-up Parent Questionnaire*

Parent Questionnaire – Gaelic Reading in the Home

School: _____
Child's name: _____

A. RESOURCES
1. Please list the Gaelic books (title only) your child has at home, including dictionaries.

_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

2. If your child has a favourite book or books, please list them here.

_____ _____
_____ _____

3. If your child has access to other Gaelic educational resources – videos, CD-Roms, CDs, storybooks on tape – please list these here.

_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

4. If your child regularly watches Gaelic television or listens to Gaelic radio, please list the programmes and frequency (# times/week) here.

_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

5. What other Gaelic resources would you like made available to support your child's reading?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

B. STORYWORLDS READING SCHEME
1. Are you satisfied with the progress that your child is making in the reading scheme?

_____

2. Do you regularly listen to your child read from his/her reading book?

_____

2.1 Do you or your child listen to the accompanying tape?

_____

2.2 If so, do you find the tape helpful?

_____

3. Do you have the opportunity to do or review Storyworlds worksheets with your child? _____

4. Do you regularly go over "key words" with your child, if these are provided?

_____

5. Do you feel that Storyworlds is effective in supporting your child's developing reading? _____

C. EXTRA-CURRICULAR SUPPORT

1. How often do you or another adult or child read Gaelic in the home (modelling)?

_____

2. Was your child exposed to Gaelic print (books, newspapers, road signs, etc.) before entering school?

_____

3. Did or do you consciously spend time with your child learning letters or words?

_____

4. Do you help your child practice spelling on a regular basis?

_____

5. Do you use games or other activities that incorporate reading or word play in Gaelic?_____

6. Is your child involved in any extra-curricular activities that include Gaelic reading?

_____

Thank you again for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire.

Appendix D: collated book list

c=Central, d=Daliburgh, m=Meadowburn, sn=Salen, sl=Sleat, st=Stornoway
(all titles as observed - paste-overs are highlighted)

TITLE	AUTHOR	SCHOOLS
100 Facal Furasda	Edwina Riddell	c, d, sn, st
A' Bhana-Bhuidseach Thoilichte	Dick King-Smith	sl
A bheil thu ag iarraidh a bhith na do chàraid dhomh?	Eric Carle	c
A bheil thu ann a' Mhathain?	Ron Maris	c
A' Bhoinneag Bheag agus a' Bhoinneag Mhòr	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
A' Bhùth	Carol Watson & Iain MacDhomhnaill	st
A' Chailleach Chrùbach	Tormod Caimbeul	c
A' Chairt		sl
A' Chairt	Roderick Hunt	c
A' Chàparaid	Phyllis Root	c, sl, st, m
a' chearc		c
A' Chnapag	Angharad Tomos & Fionnlagh MacLeoid	c
A' Cleachdadh Acfhainnean	Monica Hughes	m
a' cluich	Maureen Ruffy	st
A' Cluich	Grian	c
A' Cluich Uilebheistean	Miriam Simon	c
A' coimhead as dèidh Basil	Joan Stimson	c
A' Cur Sil	Anna NicDhomhnaill	sl
a' dèanamh	Maureen Ruffy	st
a' dol dhan sgoil		c
A' dol don Bhùth	Sara Garland	c, sl
A' dol do'n sgoil	The Story Box	sn
A' dol sìos dhan chafaidh	Joy Cowley	c
A' Ghrian		c
A' Ghuanag	Angharad Tomos & Fionnlagh MacLeoid	c
A' Gluasad na Gealaich	Jonathan Emmett	c, d, st, sn, m
A Hamstair aig Emma		c
A' Mhuc-ginidh Mhosach	Julia Jarman	c

A' Phearraid	Julia Jarman	c
A' Taghadh Chairtean	Monica Hughes	sl, sn
A' Tòiseachadh san Sgoil	Jan + Allan Ahlberg	c
A' Cleachdadh Acfhainnean	Monica Hughes	sl
Abair Droch Chù!		sl
Abair Earball!	Brian Wildsmith	sl
Abair!	R.W. Renton & J.A. MacDonald	sn
Abair-Bùrach anns an Earrach	Frank Muir	c
Ach a Mhartainn	June Counsel	c
Ach càite bheil a' phitheid uaine?	Thomas + Wanda Zacharias	c
Ad Ur Mrs. Tweed		c
Adan Nama	Cynthia Rider	c
Aig an Sìorcas		c
aig an taigh	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
Ailbhean nan Cluasan Ruiteach	Barbara Resch	c
Aimsir Fiadhaich	Bruce McClish	c
Aimsir Phrìseil		st
Air a' Mhionaid	Tony Bradman + Eileen Browne	c
Air an Rathad	Ailean Caimbeul MacIlleathain	d
Air an Rathad Dhachaigh	Jill Murphy	c
air an tuath	Maureen Ruffy	st
Air an Tuathanas	Sally Hobson	st
Air cathair	The Story Box	sn
Airc Noah		c
Airson Fealla-dhà	Pauline Cartwright	c
Aisling Chatrìona	Tormod Caimbeul	sn
Aisling Màiri	Jacqueline Hayes	c, sn
Aladdin	Disney	st
Alba ri Linn Bhictoria	Kathryn Foley	d
Alba ri Linn Bhrus	Mairi Spankie	d
Alba san Dara Cogadh	Riseachd Dargie	d
Alex air an Dùthaich	Mary Dickinson	c
Am Baile	Carol Watson & Iain MacDhomhnaill	sn, st
Am Bailun	Miriam Simon	c
Am Balach Beag agus an t-Each	Margaret Friskey	st
Am Bata Beag Brònach	Ceiteag NicGhriogair	sn, st
Am Bata Beag Fo-Mhuir		c
am bocsa dubh		c
Am Burras Acrach	Eric Carle	c, sl
Am Bus Mòr Dearg	Judy Hindley	c

Am Faca tu an Crogall?	Colin West	c
Am Faod Mise?	Miriam Simon	c
Am Foghar anns a' Choille	Janet Fitzgerald	c, sl
Am Muc agus Mrs. Potter	Phyllis Root	st
Am Paisde Abhocado	John Burningham	c
Am Partaidh aig Barnaidh	Celia Warren	c
An Aghaidh		st
An Aibidil Annasach	Edinburgh Council	d, sn
An Asal agus am Measan Coin	Val Biro	c
An Asal agus Seic an Leoghainn	Val Biro	c
An Asal Anns an Lochan		c
An Car aig Meg	Helen Nicol + Jan Pienkowski	c
an cat		c
An Cat à Toll Lucha	Antonia Barber	sn, c, d
An cat draoidheil		c
An Cat Reamhar	Jack Kent	c
an cleas		c
An Coineanach	Eileen Saville Taylor	c
an crogall		c
An Crogall Uabhasach	Roald Dahl	c
An Croitear	Martin Waddell	c, d, st
An Cù Agamsa	June Crebbinn	st
an cù mòr buidhe	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
An Cur-Seachad Dìamhair...	Anna Latharna NicGilliosa	c
An Dealan-dè	Lilijanna Rylands	sl
An Doras	Rathad na Mara	sn
An Dotair	Rathad na Mara	sn
An Droch Aisling		sl
An Duine, A Mhac agus an Asal	Ginn	c
An fhuil agam	Barbara Vokes	c, sl
an gàrradh		c
An Geamhradh anns a' Choille	Janet Fitzgerald	c
An Geansaidh Dineasair	Miriam Simon	c
An Gille agus an Leòmhan		c
An Gille Bragail	Malachy Doyle	c, m, st
An Gille is an Madadh-Allaidh		c
an gruasan		c
An Gruffalo	Julia Donaldson	c, m, st
An Imrich	Helen Hinchley	sl
An Iteileag aig Calum agus Mòrag	Lisa Storey	d
An Laogh Beag Ur	Barbara Reid	st

An latha thàinig am poileasman dhan sgoil		c
An Leabhar Agamsa	Ron Maris	sl, c
An Luchag, An Sùbh-Làir Abaich Dearg agus Am Mathan Mòr Acrach!	Don & Audrey Wood	c, m, sl, sn
An Nead	Cliath	c, sn
An Nead	Brian Wildsmith	sl
An Nollaig aig Liusaidh is Tomas	Shirley Hughes	c
an òtrach		c
an rionnag		c
An Rud a Lorg Jamaica	Juanita Havill	c
An Rud as Miosa mu Ailbhein	Chris Riddell	c
An Saoghal agus a' Gealach	David Drew	c
An Seann Saoghal	Storlann	c
An Sìol	Sam Godwin	c
An Sìol Beag	Eric Carle	c, sl
An Sionnach agus an Fheannag	Val Biro	c
An Sù	Rod Campbell	c
an sutha	Maureen Ruffy	st
An Taibhse sa Chaisteal	Julia Jarman	c
An Taigh	Carol Watson & Iain MacDhomhnaill	sn, m, st
An Taigh aig Slat		c
An t-Ailbhean agus an Leanabh Crosta	Elfrida Vipont	c
An Taobh A-Staigh agus an Taobh A-Muigh	Eleanor Schmid	st
An t-Eagal Mòr	Julia Jarman	c
An Tigear a thàinig gu teatha		c
An t-Inneal Miorbhaileach	Joy Cowley	sl
An Tiodhlac	John Prater	c
An t-Isean Glas	Ian Beck	c, d, m, st
An toir thu dhomh sin?	Shirley Hughes	c
an tràigh		c
An Trèan Taibhse	Miriam Simon	c
An t-Seachdain Seo	Monica Hughes	c
An t-Seachdain aig Mgr Madadh-Allaidh	Colin Hawkins	st
An t-Sreang Aodaich	Angharad Tomos + Fionnlagh MacLeoid	c
An Tuathanach agus a mhic		c
An Tunnag Tuathanach	Martin Waddell	c
An Uilebheist Mhòr Uaine	Jan Maguinness	c
anns a' bhùth		c
Anns a' mhadainn	Monica Hughes	c

Anns a' Mhadainn	Rathad na Mara	sl, st
Anns an Sgoil	Diana Bentley	sl
Aodach	Catherine Anhoff	st
Aodach Sònraichte	Monica Hughes	sl, sn
Aon oidhche fhliuch fhuar	The Story Box	sn
Aon Stocainn	Miriam Simon	c
Astar Mòr nam Beathaichean a' tighinn tro trioblaid	Colin Dann	d, st
Atlas Airson Alba	PRG/Acair	st
B' aill leibh? Thuirt an sioraf	Colin West	c
Bailinn Seanair	Julia Jarman	c
Barnaidh an Tarbh	Jacqueline Prior	c, sn
bata beag iasg mòr	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
B'e tu fhèin an nighean	Rose Impey	c
Beagan Spòrs	Gwen Mulholland & Lisa Storey	st
Beathaichean Là is Oidhche	Karen Rice Evans	sl, sn
Beileag agus an Uilebheist	Lisa Storey	c, d, sn
Bha Cailleach ann Turas a Shluig Cuileag Mhòr	Pam Adams	c, sn, sl, st
Bheil Thu Idir gu Math, Sam?	Amy Hest	c, m
Bho chionn ceud Bliadhna	Gervase Phinn	sn
Biadh Meadhan-Oidhche	Lindsay Camp & Tony Ross	c
Biadh Mòr na Nollaig	Robin Lyons	sn
Biastagan		st
Bìoball na Cloinne		st
Biorachan Beag agus Biorachan Mòr	Meanbh-Chuileag	d, sn, st
Bitheagan	Barbara Vokes	sl
Bliadhna Thrang Spot	Eric Hall	c, sl, st
Bocan	Rathad na Mara	sn
Bodach na Nollaige air Saor-Làithean	Raymond Briggs	c
Bonnaich agus Èisg		c
Bracaist	Daibhidh Flint	m, sl
Brìgh na Gàidhlig	Catriona NicIomhair Parsons	st
Brìgh nam Facal	Richard Cox	d, c
Bròg̀an Ùr		sl
Bròg̀an Ùra		st
Bu tu a' bhiast	Sally Grindley	c
Builgeanan	Gill Munton	c
Bus Maisy	Lucy Cousins	c
Bùthan	Monica Hughes	sl, sn

Caidil gu Sèimh	Alma NicShimidh, Alasdair Barr	st
Caileag	Kim Lewis	d, m, sn, sl, st
Càirdean Annasach	Pauline Cartwright	c
Cairt Bhogail	Joy Cowley	sl
Càite bheil Spot?	Eric Hill	m, st, sn
Calum agus an Cat	Giolla Coluim Mac a' Bhaird	sn
Calum agus Mòrag air chuairt sa Choille	Lisa Storey	c, d, sl
Calum Coineanach	Domhnall Iain MacLeoid	sn, c
Caoran agus an Cliabh	Mairead Hulse	c, st
Càraidean	Miriam Simon	c
Carol agus Calum a Inbhir Nis	Crisdean Dillon	sn
Casan Bheathaichean	Rod Theodorou	sl, sn
Cat agus Fidheall		c
Cat air Brat	Brian Wildsmith	sl
Cathal Garg agus a' Hearach	Tormod Caimbeul	sn
Ceallan	Barbara Vokes	sl
Cearban ann am poca	Joy Cowley	sl
Ceitidh Mòrag agus an Dà Ghranaidh	Mairi Hedderwick	sn
Ceitidh Mòrag agus an Dà Sheanmhair	Mairi Hedderwick	st, d, m
Ceitidh Mòrag agus an Dithis Seanmhair	Mairi Hedderwick	c
Ceitidh Mòrag agus Balaich Ruadh a' Ghlinne	Mairi Hedderwick	c, st, d, m
Ceitidh Mòrag agus na Tòimhseachan	Mairi Hedderwick	c, m
Ceitidh Mòrag aig a' Chuirm-Chiùil	Mairi Hedderwick	st, c, d, m
Ceitidh sa Chidsin	Stephanie Dagg	sn
Cha Mhòr Nach...	Paul Rogers & John Prater	c
Chaidh Muc a Ghlacadh	Heather Amery + Stephen Cartwright	c
Chaidh Sam a-Steach	Gill Munton	c
Chan e Mise Rinn e!	Brian Moses + Mike Gordon	c, st, sl
Chan eil mise gu math	Franz Brandenbery	st
Chan fhaod, Sam!	Julia Jarman	c
Changaru air leum		c
Chì mi	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn

Cho Mòr 's tha mo Ghaol ort	Sam McBratney	m, st, c
Ciamar a chuireas mi orm e?	Shigeo Watanabe	c
Cidsin an-diugh agus an-dè	Sallie Purkis	sl
Ciorstaidh agus an Dealan-Dè	Lisa Storey	sl
Ciorstaidh agus Granaidh a' Dol air Chuairt	Lisa Storey	sl
Clara ag iarraidh Cadal	Sally Chambers	c
Cleasaiche agus Ailbhean	The Story Box	sn
Cleasaichean	Monica Hughes	c
Cluinnidh Mi le Mo Chluasan	Joan Mills	sl
Cò ghoid am bogha-froise?	Fearghas MacFhionnlaigh	c
Cò mise?	Aonghas MacIomhair	st
Cock-a-moo-moo	Juliet Dallas-Conte	st
Còig Tunnagan Beaga	Vivian French	st
Coin	Christine Butterworth	sl, c
Coineanaich	Christine Butterworth	c
co-là-breith		c
Co-là-breith	Rathad na Mara	sn
Co-là-breith Mairi	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
Co-là-breith Spot	Eric Hill	sn
Colla mo Rùn	Anita Jeram	c, m, st
Congrinero	David Meredith	d, c
Connadh	Ginn Science	c
Corduroy	Don Freeman	st
Corp an Duine	Penny Coltman & Raonaid Sparks Linfield	sl, st, c, m
Craobhan	L. Storey & C. Dillon	c
Crotaire Notre Dame	Disney	c
Cù anns an Adhar	Brinton Turkle	st
Cù Ùr		sl
Cuairt chun na Gealaich	Criosaidh A Niclomhair	st
Cuibhlichean	Bob Graham	sl
Cuilidh	Shirley Hughes	c
Cuiseag	John Burningham	c
Cum blàth	Barbara Vokes	sl
Cumaidhean	Lynne Burgess	sl, sn
Dà Bhèibidh	Bill Gillham	sl
Dà Bhodach Sneachd		c
Dachaighean	Jan Pienkowski	c, st
Dachaighean	Teresa Heapy	sl, sn
Dachaighean Bheathaichean	Betty Root	c

Dachaighean Bheathaichean	Henry Pluckrose	sl
Dachaighean, Tuill agus Sgeapan	Henry Pluckrose	sl
Dadaidh agus an Car	Grian	c
Daibhidh agus Masaidh	Anna NicDhomhnaill	sn
Daifni Dineosor	Aine ni Ghlinn	sn
Damhan-allaidh		c
Dan agus Sam	Aileag Caimbeul	d
Danaidh agus an Dineasar	Syd Hoff	c
Dannsa nan Itean	Brenda Wyn Jones	st
Dathan	Sue Hendra	st
Dathan	Catherine Anhoff	st
Dè a b'fheàrr leat?	John Burningham	c
Dè a Chì Mi? Anns a' Choille	Cecilia Fitzsimmons	sl
Dè a chì mi? Anns an Raon-chluich	Cecilia Fitzsimmons	c
Dè a' chleachd mi	Monica Hughes	sl, sn
Dè a tha Beò?	Teresa Heapy	sl, sn
Dè a th'ann a huggles	Joy Cowley	c
Dè an ath rud a bhios a' tachairt?	Monica Hughes	c
Dè an ath rud!	Jill Murphy	c
Dè an Seòrsa Dachaigh?	Helen Hinchley	sl
Dè an uair a tha e, a Mhadadh-Allaidh?ò	Colin Hawkins	c
Dè tha a' Tachairt? Air an Tuathanas	Heather Amery & Stephen Cartwright	c
Dealan-Dè a' Chail	Anna NicDhomhnaill	sl
Dealbh is Facal	Heather Amery & Iain MacDhomhnaill	sn, d, sl, c, st
Dealbhannan nam inntinn	John O'Brien	c
Deich Balaich Bheaga Dhubh	Aonghas Caimbeul	sl
Dh'fhaodadh e a bhith na bu miosa	A.H. Benjamin	c
Diathad Fear an Taigh-Sholais	David Armitage	c
Dòigh Eile air a Ràdh	D. J. Macleod	d, st, c
Doileag Anna Micheil	Tormod Caimbeul	sn, sl
Dòmhnall Alasdair agus Goraidh	Lisa Storey	c, d
Dòmhnall Dineosor: A' cluiche ditectibh	Louise Hodgson	sl
Dòmhnall Dineosor: A' lorg nan sùbhlan-làir	Louise Hodgson	sn, c
Dòmhnall Dineosor: Caraid do Dhòmhnall	Louise Hodgson	sn
Dòmhnall Dineosor: Speuclairean-grèine Dhonag	Louise Hodgson	sn, c, sl
Domhnall Phadraig	Seonag Monk	c, d

Dotaman	Donnie MacLeoid	st, c
Dotaman air ghleus	Donnie MacLeoid	st
Dragon le Cnatan	Joy Cowley	sl
Droch Mhamaidh	Rathad na Mara	m
Eachdraidh mo Bheatha	Pat Hughes	sl, sn
Earrach anns a' Choille Dhorcha	Peggy Blakey	sl
Eilidh agus an Rabaid	Helen Cooper	c
Èisd is Seinn		st
Elaine	Barrie Wade	sn
Elmer	David McKee	c
Eòin am Beann 's na Monaidhean	E. V. Breeze Jones	d, st
Eòin an Àite	E. V. Breeze Jones	d, st
Eòin Mhara	E. V. Breeze Jones	d, st
Eòin Uisge	E. V. Breeze Jones	d, st, c
Facail agus Dealbhan	Heather Amery & Stephen Cartwright	st, m
Faclan	Catherine Anhoff	st
Fada - Goirid	Colin McNaughton	c
Faireachdainnean	Monica Hughes	c
Falach-fead	Marie Singleton	c
Falach-Fead	Robin Cunningham	c
Falbh air Picnic	Sarah Garland	c
Far a bheil na Rudan Fiadhaich	Maurice Sendak	c
Fear an Loilipop	Mo Sgoil	c
Fèill nan Dealan-dè	Miriam Simon	c
Fiaclan Granaidh	Brianog Brady Dawson	sn
Fiacail Fhlagach Tilac	Miriam Simon	c
Fionnlagh Fada agus Tomas Trom	Helen Piers	c
Flòraidh 's na Ròin	Gemma Champ & Mairi Kidd	c, sn
Flossie, An Cat Againn	Ruth Brown	c
Fuadach nan Gàidheal	Domhnall Guinne & Mairi Spandle	d
Gaelic Dictionary	Malcolm MacLennan	c
Gaelic-English/English-Gaelic Dictionary	R.W. Renton & J.A. MacDonald	sn
Gèadh nan Ùighean Òr		c
Geansaidh Snàth	Meredith Hooper	m
Gheibh Sinn Cuilean!	Bob Graham	c, m, sl, st
Gleocaichean is Tuilleadh Gleocaichean	Pat Hutchins	sl, c
Gluaisidh Sinn	Barbara Vokes	c, sl

Gnog Gnog Co th'ann?	Sally Grindley & Allan Browne	st, c
Granaidh a' togail taigh	Catherine Storr	sl
Gumdrop on the Farm	Val Biro	st
Hamstair	Chantel Van der Burghe	c
Hamstair	Christine Butterworth	c
Haraidh, an cù salach	Gene Zion	c
Harry agus na Rosan	Gene Zion	c
Hmm...	Colin McNaughton	c
Hullo!	The Story Box	sn
Imrich Molly	Shirley Hughes	c
Iosa aig a' Phòsadh		sl
Iosaph		c
Iosaph agus a Chòta Dathach		c
Is toigh le mo chat a bhith falach 'sa bhogsa	Eve Sutton	sl, c
Is Toigh Leam an Dorchadas	Bronwyn Anderson	c
Is Toigh Leam Bàtaichean	Flora MacDonald	c
Is Toigh Leinn...	Ladybird	st
Isean Beag	Rod Campbell	c
Jabeen agus a' Ghealach	Julia Jarman	c
Kittens		c
Lachann agus an t-Isean Dubh	Susan Walker	c
Lasair Dhearg	Catriona Mhoireach	c
Latha aig an Abhainn	Anna NicDhomhnaill	sl
Latha ann am Beatha Pàiste Bhictorianach	Penelope Harnett	m, sl
Le Gaol bho Dhòmhnall	Vivian French	m, st
Leabhar do Seac	Miriam Simon	c
Leabhar Facail Bheathaichean	Edwina Riddell	sn, d, m, c, st
Leabhar Mòr Spot	Eric Hill	c, d, sn, sl
Leabhar-latha Pònair	Rhonda Jenkins	m, sl
Leamsa	Catherine Anhoff	st
Leanabh an Abhocado	John Burningham	c
Leapannan	Carole Beaty	sl
Leum Suas air an Sguaib	Julia Donaldson	c, d, st, sn, m
Lighthouse Keeper's Lunch	Ronda & David Armitage	sl, st
Lighthouse reading series		st

Liosaidh agus am Fras Cair	Julia Jarman	c
Loilidhean	Gill Munton	c
Lòin Dubha a' Togail Nead	Margaret Linton & Trevor Terry	sl
Luasgan	Cliath	c, sn
Luch a' Bhaile is Luch na Dùthcha	Val Biro	c
Luchag	The Story Box	sn
Lùdag Bheag	Domhnall Grannd	sl
Lusaidh agus Tomas a' dol dhan sgoil	Shirley Hughes	c
Mac an t-Sròn aich	Fionnlagh MacLeoid	d, sn
Mac Curraich agus an t-Isean	Cliath	c
Mac Curraich agus Cailleach a' Bhrot	Iain Moireach	c
Mairead Òg	Mairead NicNeill	d, sn, st
Maisy Luch a' dèanamh Aran-Cridhe	Lucy Cousins	d, c, st
Maisy Luch a' dol a Chadal	Lucy Cousins	d, c, st
Maisy Luch agus an t-Amar Snamh	Lucy Cousins	c, st, d
Maisy Luch le Aodach Breige	Lucy Cousins	c, d, st
Marvin Wanted More!	Joseph Theobald	st
Meanbh-bhiastag (Leabhar Mor-Eolas)	Monica Hughes	m, sl
Measan Handa	Eileen Browne	c
Measgaich le Uisge	Monica Hughes	sl, sn
Meg agus Mog	Helen Nicoll & Jan Pienkowski	c, sl
Meud	Jillian Powell	sl, sn
Meudachd	Jan Pienkowski	st
Meusaidh anns a' Choille Uisge	Aileen Paterson	c
Meusaidh anns an Sgoil	Aileen Paterson	c
Mgr Greannach air Cuairt	John Burningham	c, sl
Mgr Mathan agus an Leanabh Ur	Debi Gliori	st, d
Mi fhèin is mo Theaghlach	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
Mìcheal agus Niall a' dol dhan bhuth	Lisa Storey	sn, d

Mìcheal agus Niall a' cuideachadh Peigi	Lisa Storey	c
Mìcheal agus Niall aig a' chladach	Lisa Storey	d
Mimi am Mathan Èibhinn		c
Mire Mara	Morag Stiubhart & Mairi Sine Caimbeul	c
Mo Bhiadh	Barbara Vokes	sl
Mo Bhodhaig	Rhonda Jenkins	sl, sn
Mo bhràthair beag	The Story Box	sn
Mo Chiad Fhaclair	Acair	d, m, sl, c, st, sn
Mo chorp	Barbara Vokes	sl
Mo Dhachaigh	Helen Hinchley	sl
Mo Phreasantan	Rod Campbell	c
Mo Sheanair	Grian	c
Mog an cat dhìochiumhneach	Judith Kerr	st, d, c
Monty Bochd	Anne Fine	c
Mr. Sionnach	Gavin Bishop	c
Mrs. Armitage air Chuibhlichean	Quentin Blake	c, sl
Mucan-gini	Betty Root & Monica Hughes	c
Muc-Ginidh do Rosaidh	Julia Jarman	c
Muir agus Tìr	Alma NicShimidh & Alasdair Barr	st
Muncaidh anns a' chraoibh	Richard Fowler	st
Muncaidh Dana	Aine ni Ghlinn	sn
Na Bhana-Bhuidsichean	Gwenda Turner	c
Na Bonnaich aig Mgr. Madadh-Allaidh	Jan Fearnley	c
Na Bròga n	Arnica Esterl, Richard Rosenstein, Victor Ambrus	st, c, d
Na dìochuimhnich a hama!	Pat Hutchins	c, st, sl
Na Facail		c
Na h-Ainmhidhean	Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn	d
Na Lochlannaich	C. NicLeoid, M. NicCoinnich, D. NicFheargais	c
Na Luchainn a bha Fuireach 's a' Bhròig	Rodney Peppe	c

Na Luchainn 'sa Bhùth	Margaret Gordon	c
Na peataichean aig Stanley	Griff	st
Na Planaidean A-Staigh	Comhairle nan Eilean	st
na rionnag		c
Na Trì Mucan Beaga		st
Nach Caidil Thu, A Mhathain Bhig?	Barbara Firth	c
Nam Bithinn nam Eun	Pauline Cartwright	c
Nehemiah, Fear-Togail do Dhia		sl
Neoni dodothan, Chan eil gin air fhàgail	Amanda Wallwork	sn
Nì Mise E!	B. Moses & M. Gordon	st
Nì Thu Fhèin a' Chùis, Sam	Amy Hest	m, st, c
Noah agus na Rabaidean	Sally Kilroy	sn
Nollaig Chridheil	Rathad na Mara	sl
Nollaig Ealasaid	Catriona Holabird	c
Nollaig Mog	Judith Kerr	sl
Nollaig Spot	Eric Hill	c, st, sn
Not Now, Bernard	David McKee	sl
Nuair a Chaidh Sinn don Phàirc	Shirley Hughes	c
O Tractar!	Fionnlagh MacLeoid	sn
Obair Taighe	Chris Clark & Bobbie Neate	sl
Ochd Dineasairean Mòra	Kaleen Primary School	c
Oidhche Mhath, Sam	Amy Hest	c, d, st
Òrain Tradiseanta	Mairi Nic a' Ghobhainn, Maeve NicFhionghuinn	st
Osaidh Leisg	Michael Coleman	c
Pàdraig	Quentin Blake	c
Pàdraig Post air Latha Ceothach	John Cunliffe	m, st
Pàdraig Post air Latha Doirbh	John Cunliffe	st
Partaidh	Bill Graham	sl
Partaidh Co-là-breith Rosaidh Rabaid	Patrick Yee	sn, st
Partaidh nan Toidhs		sl, st
Partaidh nan Toys	Roderick Hunt	c
Peataichean ag ithe		c
Peitse, Plumais, agus Peur	Janet and Allan Ahlberg	c
Picnic Nicky	Harriet Ziefert	c, sl

Piseag nam Bròg	Ladybird	c
Pizza	Gill Munton	c
Plèanaichean		st
Possum beag gòrach	The Story Box	sn
Psssst a' chait	Julia Jarman	c
Rabhdan is Rudan	Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn	st
Raghnall Ruadh agus Banrigh nan Ron	Seonag NicDhomhnaill	c
Ràithean	Monica Hughes	sl, sn
Rannan Èibhinn Cloinne	Mairi Tailleir	st
Ra-Ra-Raspair!	Tormod MacLeoid	d, m
Ri taobh na mara	Sally Hobson	st
Rop Anairt Bean Ruairidh	Anita Hewett	c
Rosaidh a' dol Cuairt	Pat Hutchins	c, sl
Rosaidh agus na Dineasairean	Julia Jarman	c
Rosaidh Rabaid a' Cluich	Patrick Yee	st, sn
Rosaidh Rabaid a' dol a Chadal	Patrick Yee	st, sn
Rosaidh Rabaid a' dol dhan Chroileagan	Patrick Yee	st, sn
Roth-gaoith Roth-gaoith	Richard Fowler	st
Ruagan Ruadh	Quentin Blake	c
Ruairidh	Leo Lionni	st
Ruaraidh Robot	Iain Moireach & Aonghas MacIomhair	st, c
Rùn-dìomhair	Rathad na Mara	sn
S e seo am Mathan agus a' chuirm-chnuic	Sarah Hayes	c
S Math Sin!		st
Sam aig an Sù	Bronwyn Tainui	c
Se seo am Mathan agus am Chuirm-chnuic	Helen Craig	sl
Seachdainn a' Mhadadh-Allaidh	Colin Hawkins	c, sl
Seall air Pònair		sl
Seall air Ubhal	Ginn	sl
Sean mo Bhràthair	Petronella Breinburgh	c
Seinn Alleluia	an t-Urr. Donnie MacSween	st
Seinn Seo	Donnie MacLeoid	st
Seo a Chroit aig Calum Ruadh	Pam Adams	st, c, sn, sl

Seo gu Siud	Melanie Walsh	st
Seoc nan Sia Suipearan	Inga Moore	c
Seoras agus am Beetle	Beathag Mhoireasdan	c
Seumas	Ailean Caimbeul	sn, sl
Seumas is Eòghainn: Balaich an Rubha	Nan Ghreumach NicDhomhnaill	st
Seumas leis a' Sgàilean	Mal Humphreys	st, d, m
Sgeulachd a' Choire	J. G. Mackay	d
Sgeulachd Peadar Rabaid	Beatrix Potter	c
Sgeulachd Turas Trèana	Joy Cowley	c, sl
Sgeulachdan Baile Mhuilinn		m, sl
Sgioba Dèan Ùr	Anna NicDhomhnaill	sn
Shèid a' Ghaoth	Pat Hutchins	c, sl
Silidh Staigeach	Meredith Hooper	m
Sim agus an Stoc-Ponain	Raymond Briggs	c
Simpkin	Quentin Blake	c
Solas agus Faileasan		sl
Solas Gealaich	Jan Ormerod	c
Solas Grèine	Jan Ormerod	c
Somhairle an Ròn	Syd Hoff	c
Somhairle 's a Phiuthar	Catriona Mhoireach	sn
Spagan ag obair	Ellen Blane & Anne Cook	c
Spagan aig an t-surcus	Ellen Blane + Ann Cook	c
Spagan air an Tràigh	Ellen Blane + Ann Cook	c
Spòrs agus Seinn		st
Spot a' Cunntadh	Eric Hill	st
Spot agus an Gleoc	Eric Hill	st
Spot air Chuairt	Eric Hill	m, sn
Spot anns an Sgoil	Eric Hill	sl, st
Spotan, an Cù Salach	Gene Zion	st
Sradagan Newsletter April 2004		sl
Sreathart Mhòr	Ruth Brown	sl
Stamh	Anna NicDhomhnaill	c, sn
Steòrnabhagh	Comhairle nan Eilean	sn
Stocainnean an Righ	Roderick Hunt	c
Stuthan	Monica Hughes	m, sl
Suas agus Suas	Shirley Hughes	c
Sùilean	Bridget Gibbs	m, sl
Sun Calendar	Una Jacobs	c
Taghadh de Sgeulachdan Tomas	an t-Urr. W Awdry	m, d, st, sl,

an t-Einnsean Tanca		sn
Taigh a' mheinneir	Anne Witherington	sl
Taigh Cunntais Anno	Mitsumasa Anno	c
Taigh Draoidh	Joy Cowley	sl
Taigh Uncail Buncail	Joy Cowley	sl
Taigh ur dhan fhamh 's dhan luch	Harriet Ziefert	c
Taighean	The Story Box	sn
Teadaidh	Cyfres y Ddraig	sl
Teadaidh sa Choille	Ian Beck	m
Teadaidh Tuathanach	Phoebe + Joan Worthington	c
Teaghlach Rosaidh	Miriam Simon	c
Teaghlach Sam	Miriam Simon	c
Tearlag agus am Bodach-Sneachd...agus an Cèic!	Marie C. NicAmhlaigh	c
Tearlag agus na Spàinean	Marie C. NicAmhlaigh	m
Teas	Bob Graham	c
Tedei Beag an t-Sneachd		st
Tha Ailbhean Mòr!	Tony + Lynne Farmer	c, m, sn, sl
Tha gobhair 's a ghàrradh	Laurel Dee Gugler	st
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Air ur Socair	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh A-mach Leinn	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Corragan is Ordagan	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Cudail, Cudail	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Làn an Spàinne Dhutsa	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Mo Ghaol Ort	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Oidhche Mhath	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha Mgr Mathan ag ràdh Siud Thu	Debi Gliori	st, m, sn
Tha mi beò	Barbara Vokes	sl
Tha mi Duilich	Brian Moses & Mike Gordon	sl, st
Tha mi falbh a lorg uilebheist	Maurice Jones	c
Tha Mise Coma!	Brian Moses & Mike Gordon	m, st
Thachair rud èibhinn Dihaoine	John Prater	st
The 3 Bears and Goldilocks	Jonathan Langley	sl

The Helen Oxenbury Nursery Rhyme Book	Brian Alderson	c
The mise falbh air cuairt!	Shigeo Watanabe	c
The New English-Gaelic Dictionary	Derick S. Thomson	sn
The Snowman	Raymond Briggs	st
The Woman who Won Things	Allan Ahlberg	st
Thoir an Aire, Tha E air do Chùlaibh!	Tony Bradman	sn
Tig	Paul Shipton	c
Tim agus an Gille-Ruadh	Edward Ardizzone	c
Tiogalag, an losgann a rinn tuil	Robert Roennfeldt	c
Titch	Pat Hutchins	c
Tiugainn dhachaigh	Miriam Simon	c
Tofaidh a' Bhò Ghaidhealach	Marghanita Hughes	c, sl, sn
Toileatan	Lynette Duggan	sl
Tòimhseachan Coimic	Tormod MacLeoid	c
Tom agus Sam	Pat Hutchins	c
Tomas an t-Einnsean Tanca	an t-Urr. W. Awdry	c
Toot toot	Brian Wildsmith	sl
Topsy and Tim aig an Fhiaclair	Jean and Gareth Adamson	c
Tothan	Fionnlagh MacLeoid	sl
Trealaich is Tuilleadh Trealaich	Mairead Hulse	st, c
Trioblaidean Tropaigeach!	Tormod MacLeoid	c, d
Trobhadaibh a-steach	Mairead Hulse	c, st
Troimhn Bliadhna	Roberto Piumini	c
Tron Bhogha-Froise	E.S. Bradburne	c
Turas air Trèan	June Crebbin	c
Turas don Gealaich	Ginn Science	c
Uaine-shìth Uasail	Simon James	sl
Uan Eilidh	Kim Lewis	d, sn, st
Uilleam agus na h-Uighean	Aithris	c, m
Uilleam an t-Orainsear	Tormod MacLeoid	d, m
Uilleam Righ an Rathaid	Laura Newton	c
Uisge	Bob Graham	sl
Uisge anns an Taigh	Sue Palmer & Ron Murphy	sl
Warren agus an Geard	Gretz + Sage	c
Wilberforce anns na Bùthan	Margaret Gordon	c
Zunid	Barrie Wade	sn